THE New Republic

The Soviet Big Guns Turn Toward Asia

PAGE 5

SCHOOLS: US EMERGENCY

First-hand report from the round tables of the White House Conference on Education

BOOKS FOR CHRISTMAS

A selection of distinguished new titles

DECEMBER 12, 1955

DEC 8 1955
The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tenn.

20c

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Wire .... *T.R.B.*

Now we are all going to argue about tax cuts—not whether to make them, but how much. Senator Paul Douglas (D, Ill.) and his Joint Economic Committee meet this week: Douglas wants to cut taxes by increasing personal exemptions from $600 to $700; that helps the little man. The Committee for Economic Development (a business group) wants the graduated tax rate itself cut; that helps the rich. The battle is going to be hot. Here is the story in capsule: The Budget Bureau last August guessed that in fiscal 1956 (ending next June 30) it would get $70.9 billion in cash from the public (it will be higher) and would pay $70.6 in cash to the public (this will be higher, too), for a surplus of about $.3 billion. Meanwhile corporate income tax, now 52 percent, automatically drops to 47 percent April 1, unless continued. excise tax rates come down, too. The other fiscal element is that the present boom, if continued, will probably give us a surplus of $4 or $5 billion *next* year (not this) if taxes aren't cut now. BUT—an election is coming up. So everybody, Republicans and Democrats alike, proposes to anticipate the good times ahead by cutting taxes now. The Douglas cut would be $2.5 billion; the CED package cut somewhat more. Everybody mentions "moderation," but this is an election year.

Kefauver renews his Dixon-Yates probe. The question here narrows down to Ike and his chain of command. When Ike originally ordered his staff to publish a "complete" record of the facts, who omitted the name of Adolphe Wenzell? Was it Budget Director Hughes, or AEC Chairman Strauss? Who advised the President that the heretofore non-political AEC should make the contract to begin with? These are the questions for Kefauver. The Administration now acknowledges that the contract was invalid because of Wenzell's conflict-of-interests, but somebody in Ike's chain of command had failed to keep him informed so that he termed Wenzell's role "proper," and repeatedly assured the press that all facts would be published. Ike's chief contribution to the art of government has been the chain of command system in which he is dependent on the information that comes up to him through his staff. What happens when the chain has a weak link?

"Democratic politicians are by nature a cheerier, more convivial breed than Republicans; why this should be only the psychiatrists can tell," writes Cabell Phillips in the *New York Times*, comparing the two recent party gatherings in Chicago. Perhaps the answer is in the kind of things the GOP talks about. For example, the GOP fund raiser this year is industrialist Fred C. Crawford, former head of the National Association of Manufacturers. Next January 20 the GOP holds "Salute to Eisenhower" money-raising dinners simultaneously all over the US with a probable take of a couple of millions. Crawford has just keynoted the advance plans for his 200 ticket-sellers who will go back and run the shows. And what is his line? Why, the NAM's old Labor Bogey. He proposes to make the plump flesh of the $100-a-plate diners creep by scaring them to death with the horrors of trade unionism. "This minority group," he warns sepulchrally, plans a "powerful and well-financed" political drive in 1956; and he cites—as the "supreme example" of the danger of "minority movements"— the rise of the Nazi party in Germany. Well, well, that's the kind of things to make the du Ponts shell out! But it produces an aura of gloom that hardly makes GOP clambakes rollicking affairs.

We can't help wondering if bubbling Leonard Hall isn't making a mistake by anesthetizing his party into the belief that Ike is going to run. Maybe Ike will run. They are really twisting Ike's arm now, poor chap; House GOP Leader Joe Martin came away from Gettysburg saying, "He trained at West Point where they train you to serve your country when your country calls." Whether this is in good taste or not we leave to the GOP; certainly it is the "duty" argument in stark form, for a President in his mid-60's who just had a heart attack. Ike hates to say "No"; if Hall can get him to wait till March or April, say, Hall can explain that it has now become too late to groom a substitute. If Ike does run, it will be with Nixon, we imagine, and a good many people are certainly going to consider mortality statistics as they vote.

But we still suspect Ike won't run. Delaying the news may be hard for his party. Maybe we are prejudiced though we do not commonly take Republican difficulties too hard. But if not Ike, the time to build up a GOP dark horse is now. Governor Christian Herter of Massachusetts, say. He could be turned into an attractive national figure (as Adlai Stevenson was for the Democrats in 1952), but it takes time. If Ike waits to the last minute to say "no," it aids Nixon, whose build-up as a familiar name is already accomplished, but it makes the inevitable counter-thrust of Senator Knowland the more furious and the confusion greater.

Richard Wilson, *Look's* Washington bureau chief: " . . . [Nixon's] friends cannot understand why so many self-styled liberals don't like him."

Harry Truman, Seattle, Nov. 26: "I don't want even to discuss Nixon. I don't like Nixon and I never will. I don't want even to discuss him. He called me a traitor."

It is our pleasant duty to record that McCarthy has recently taken two slaps in Wisconsin. The Post Office Department rejected his appointee, one Thomas Miller, for a job at Appleton, Wis., finding that as a former tavern keeper, Miller was convicted on gambling and bootlegging charges. And McCarthy's plan to help gerrymander an outstanding Democratic anti-McCarthyite, Rep. Henry Reuss, out of his seat was too much even for Republican Gov. Walter Kohler, who vetoed a GOP redistricting bill. Meanwhile the epithet "McCarthyism" has passed into the language. It is the chief nasty word being flung in the current Australian political fight where everybody knows its meaning.

Gov. Marvin Griffin's racist proposal to cancel Georgia Tech's Sugar Bowl game with Pittsburgh (who have a Negro on their team) got him hung in effigy on the campus; the boys have a lot more sense than their political elders.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Clues to the Eisenhower Succession

EVEN though the "big if" about the President's 1956 candidacy has not been answered, many clues to the future became firm during the first 30 days that Mr. Eisenhower spent at Gettysburg on an hour-a-day business schedule.

1. The Eisenhower wing of the Republican Party now feels it has firm control of the nomination process, and no longer fears a major fight with the extreme conservatives. This confidence arises first from their successful maneuver to postpone the President's decision until late February or March; second from the balance of power which has been given to Southern delegates at the GOP nominating convention—303 votes out of 1323—a bloc which can be manipulated by White House patronage until August.

2. Many Republican leaders who gave up hope in October that the President would run are now optimistic that he will. This is an educated guess—more than wishful thinking but less than an understanding with the President.

3. News correspondents both at Gettysburg and Washington still believe preponderantly that Eisenhower is out of the race. A poll of correspondents at the Gettysburg "White House" on the weekend of December 4 revealed the overwhelming judgment the President would not run.

4. Republican National Chairman Leonard Hall is now the spokesman for the Eisenhower wing of the GOP on campaign strategy. When Hall told the recent Republican meeting at Chicago that Vice President Richard Nixon would again be the running mate if the President consents to run, his statement was accepted as authoritative.

5. Nixon is now regarded as a much more likely choice for Presidential candidate if Eisenhower does not run—a second point of retreat after Chief Justice Warren. The build-up for Nixon at the recent GOP Committee meeting was so conspicuous that correspondents gained the impression the word had been passed from the leadership. The possibility of a Nixon choice is producing tight co-operation between Nixon and leaders of the Eisenhower wing. They are now mutually dependent.

One Republican leader who has recently told friends he believes the President will run is retired General Lucius Clay, the President's former deputy in Germany; another is George E. Allen, the President's personal friend and next door neighbor at Gettysburg, who has reported to several corporation board meetings that he has concluded the President will run.

Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams told the Advertising Council in New York that Mr. Eisenhower probably has "average life expectancy" despite his heart attack—that is, 13 more years of life for a white male at age 65. There are no available statistics on the life expectancy of 65-year-olds who have suffered heart attacks, but the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company reported that of 611 heart victims it traced, 70 percent lived more than five years after their attacks and more than 50 percent lived more than ten years. The company did not indicate what proportion of these found it necessary to retire.

Republican Chairman Hall unveiled at the Chicago GOP meeting a non-strenuous TV campaign for 1956, custom-built for Mr. Eisenhower. And he added this comment on his conversation the same week with the President at Gettysburg: "I came away with this thought: You were talking with a man who was well-informed about the campaign, concerned about it, and had a real, continuing interest in it."

The personal message which President Eisenhower sent to that GOP gathering was something less conclusive: "You have a splendid record to submit to the voters. . . . I shall do everything in my power . . . to help you report the record accurately and fully to the country." That could be read two ways.

The most cutting answer to the optimistic forecasts that the President will run came from the typewriter of *New York Times* Correspondent James Reston. "The real imponderable," he wrote, is that "nobody can know, now or in January when he gets his 'final' checkup, or in the spring when he must decide finally whether to run again, what the world events of the next five years are going to be and therefore what the pressures will be on the American President during that period.

"Harry Truman probably aged more during the weekend of June 25, 1950, when he had to face the terrible decisions about how to react to the Communist invasion of South Korea than in any other entire year of his Administration but he had no warning of it even the day before."

Doctors continue to put the President through ghoulish tests—first two official appointments a week, then three; then a cabinet meeting a week, then successive Security Council and Cabinet meetings, then three big meetings in the week of December 12—testing, testing like a machine. The President has cooperated in all this without a comment on his campaign plans, so far as is known, even to his intimate friends.

Virginia's Choice

VIRGINIA voters will decide by referendum on January 9 whether the state constitution should be amended to abolish the requirement of public schools and permit the use of public funds to pay tuition for school children in private, non-sectarian schools. This is the first state to set in motion this form of evasion of the Supreme Court decision on segregation, and may serve as a model for other Southern states.

The Virginia state legislature approved the amendments last week by overwhelming margins — 93-to-5 in the House of Delegates, 38-to-1 in the Senate. But the vote in the January referendum will be closer for several reasons.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

More than a third of the population of Virginia lives in counties where Negro population is less than 10 percent, some counties have practically none at all. Moreover, the 50,000 Negro voters in the state are expected to oppose the amendments. And the large population in Washington suburbs which spills across the Potomac River into Virginia will vote preponderantly to sustain the Supreme Court and the public school system.

The only organized opposition to the amendments will come from church groups, the feeble labor movement in the state and some teachers groups.

Virginia leaders regard their school program as "moderate" because it permits three lines of defense by county option and parental option. A new state law to be enacted by the Legislature at its January meeting would authorize county school boards to assign pupils to schools on the basis of aptitude, health and general welfare. Initially, school boards could enforce segregation under this subterfuge.

If the Courts declare this system unconstitutional, each county still can vote to abolish public schools and use public funds, including state subsidies, to give parents tuition money for sending their children to private schools.

Finally, if a county votes to retain its public schools on an integrated basis, dissatisfied parents can apply for tuition money to send their children to private schools.

So far there has been virtually no mention of the fact that private schools, on which the plan is predicated, do not exist in sufficient numbers in Virginia. Nor do the capital funds presently exist for building them and establishing the required bus services. The Byrd machine, which controls the "white supremacy" legislature, has successfully distracted attention from the practical difficulties.

Playing Politics With the Numbers

Two Democratic-controlled committees of the Senate have delved again into the "security risk" firings of the Republican Administration and have drawn admissions from Republican officials that are embarrassingly in conflict with official pronouncements. For example:

1. The Civil Service Commission announced for the year ending June 30, 1955, a total of 3,586 federal workers had been "terminated because of security questions falling within the purview" of the President's Executive Order 10450, which set up the security program. The Senate Civil Service Subcommittee checked every federal agency listed in the report, and found only 342 workers had been terminated under the security order during that year. The balance had been removed from the government by normal civil service procedure, and nothing in their personnel files showed any security considerations.

2. Between 70 and 75 percent of those workers whom the Eisenhower Administration says it terminated as "security risks" were hired by the Republican Administration and were not holdover employees from the Truman era. This determination was reached by the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee after requesting every federal agency to submit the appointment data of every worker it claims it terminated as a "security risk."

3. Administration witnesses were unable to produce figures on the number of "security risks" who were considered subversives or Communist supporters. All witnesses stressed that the "security risk" figures included mostly alcoholics and other types of unsuitable employees.

4. Many Administration witnesses testified that they now have on their payrolls persons who are included in the Republican statistics on terminated "security risks." These employees were cleared by security boards and restored to duty, but no step was taken to remove their cases from the Civil Service record as "security risks." Senate sources estimated approximately 10 percent of the terminated "security risks" are now back on the rolls.

Witness after witness was forced by Senate committee counsels to acknowledge that security statistics are "incomplete" or "misleading." They generally placed the blame on the Civil Service Commission instructions on how to submit statistics. But when Chairman Philip Young of the Commission was called before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, he testified that "there has always been a great misrepresentation of these figures, both publicly and privately, which I abhor." He contended that agency heads decided who to count as a "security risk," that he himself did not know what a "security risk" is, and that his agency never called these terminations "security risks."

Reporters cornered him after the hearing and showed him a Civil Service press release, bearing his name and issued during the 1954 election campaign, which reported "security risk" firings by the Administration.

Sen. Olin Johnston (D, S. C.) contended the investigations had "broken for all time the security numbers game." But other members of Congress wryly conceded the statisticians could probably keep a jump ahead of the investigators throughout the election campaign.

THE New Republic A JOURNAL OF OPINION

1826 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Michael Straight, *Editor*
Gilbert A. Harrison, *Publisher*
Helen Fuller, *Managing Editor*

F. R. Ruskin, *Administrative Assistant*
Lucille Davis, *Copy Assistant*
Irvin Shapiro, *Design*

Robert Evett, *Book Editor*
Eric Bentley, *Theatre Critic*
Delmore Schwartz, *Poetry Editor*

Published weekly and Copyrighted, 1955 in the USA by New Republic, Inc. Phone: REpublic 7-8656. Entered as second-class matter September 26, 1950, at the post office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Single copy, 20c; Yearly subscription, $7.00; Foreign, $8.00; Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00.

Volume 133, Number 24, Issue 2142

Washington Wire, by T.R.B. 2
Behind the Headlines 3
The Schools: US Emergency 6
by Michael Straight
Mr. Humphrey Faces '56 14
by Haldore Hanson
The Superficial Aspect 16
by Gerald W. Johnson
Books and Comment 17
Television 21
Correspondence 22

Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Please include both old and new addresses, and, if possible, wrapper with stencil impression.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Soviet Big Guns Open Fire in Asia

London

"TIGERS eat meat and buffaloes eat grass," declared Khrushchev in India, "and neither will ever change. Russia and India differ in their systems of government. But we share the common objective of peace."

Forgetting the tiger's appetite, these words were just what the Indians wanted to hear. Everything was done by the visiting Bolsheviks to flatter the sensitive Indian soul. The Soviet leaders did not shake hands, for example, but greeted their hosts with hands pressed together and upward, Indian fashion. They wore Gandhi hats and declared that the Mahatma was the equal of Lenin. This may seem absurd to the outsider; it was not to the Indians. They had not experienced such a jamboree in years.

Apart from a desire to repay the welcome he received in Moscow, Nehru seems to have had a variety of motives in inducing millions of Indians of little knowledge and impressionable minds to join in his national embrace with the Soviet leaders. As a neutralist, he works to commit both sides to public and unequivocal renunciation of war. As the leader of a backward nation, he encourages both sides to bid for India's friendship through economic aid. As the spokesman of the Congress Party, Nehru seems to hope that Russia can be induced to order the Indian Communists to behave themselves. (And reportedly instructions were sent to the Indian Communists, through a member of Khrushchev's party, to tell the Indian Communists to treat Nehru sympathetically from now on). Nehru hopes further to put pressure on both Pakistan and the United States to abandon their military association with one another. And lastly, he may suppose that by negotiating separately with the two great Communist powers in Asia, he may create a situation in which Russia assists him in diverting or resisting Chinese pressure, and vice versa.

Some of these motives are obviously compatible with Russia's aims in Asia. In particular, as China exerts an increasing fascination upon Asian Communists, Khrushchev must feel that it is so urgent to reassert Moscow's leadership. For two years in fact, the Russians have been increasing their efforts in India. Cheap Russian literature has been flooding the Indian market—it is about the only drug the masses can afford—and hardly a week goes by without some cultural or economic mission arriving from Russia or setting out from India. Russian exports to India have increased by about six times during the last three years.

But success has its dangers. The brutal energy with which the Soviet leaders exploited their welcome to belabor the West was an eye-opener to Indians nourished in the line that the Russians are Asians like themselves who move in fear and reaction against the West. The request of Bulganin and Khrushchev to visit Kashmir caused their hosts acute embarrassment, and Khrushchev's remarks about peace-loving and democratic Indians and Russians joining to resist "The Colonialists" read strangely against the execution of six Georgian police officials and the earth tremors caused by a new and huge thermonuclear explosion from within the Camp of Peace.

There is evidence now that the Communist world is ready to make real sacrifices to press its economic penetration in Asia and the Middle East. The East European satellites have been ordered to open trade talks with all non-Communist countries from Greece to Thailand. In Mr. Dulles' Northern tier of military alliances Afghanistan is being quietly taken over by the Russians. American and British residents there are in despair. The Russians are not using force: what they are doing is undercutting Western tenders of trade and assistance by as much as 90 percent. With Tibet in Communist hands, with Afghanistan falling within Moscow's influence, and with Nehru hammering away on her alliance with the US, Pakistan may soon be in grave peril.

Washington, D. C.

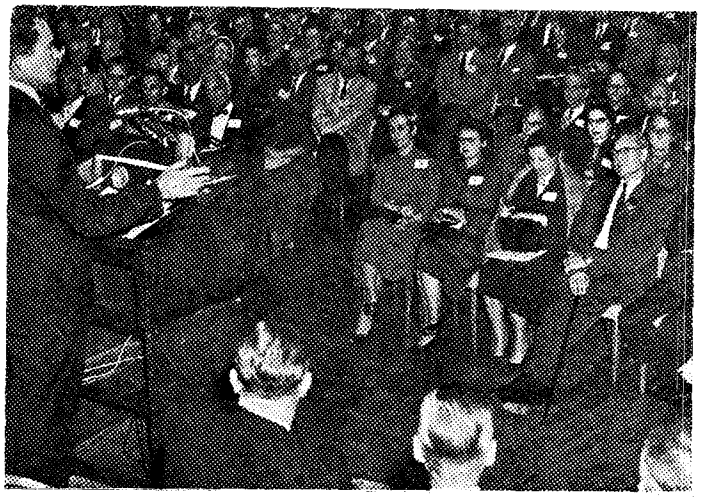
How comforting it is to turn from this gloomy report on Asia, written by two British experts, to Washington where President Eisenhower and his advisers maintain their calm. "Is it your belief, sir," said Edward Morgan, the news analyst, to Secretary Dulles at his press conference of November 30, "that our position is strong enough [in Asia] that we need do nothing more than we are doing now to meet the [Soviet] psychological challenge?" "I do not think that there are any developments which require us to alter the general magnitude of our programs," Dulles replied. "Would you say," pressed Morgan, "that we or the Russians have the initiative in [Asia and the Middle East] now?" "I would say that we have the initiative, very distinctly," said Dulles.

Disheartened, the correspondents went on to a luncheon to hear John B. Hollister, Eisenhower's Administrator for economic aid, describe his plans for meeting the Communist threat. "The whole starting point of our program," they heard Mr. Hollister affirm, "is to aid nations put troops into the field." This, Mr. Hollister granted, required some economic assistance.

However, on his return from a world tour of inspection Hollister had informed his associates in government that economic aid could be cut by 20 percent next year. Did he stand by this view, the correspondents wanted to know? Hollister declared that he had never favored a cut. A silence followed, for the correspondents knew that he was not telling the truth. He did grant that he had withheld 20 percent of the funds appropriated for overseas countries in 1955. This he defended as "a businesslike approach" of setting up a reserve. The reserve presumably is to be spent on an epidemic, a flood, a threatening political election. Point Four, in other words, is a Red Cross, emergency operation in Hollister's mind. If no "emergency" occurs and the reserve can be turned back to Congress at the year's end, then businessman Hollister will have justified his term in Washington.

Did he take seriously the increased Russian activity on Asia and the Middle East, the correspondents inquired? "Well," said Hollister, "we've thrown . . . excuse me, we've spent billions in the area while the Russians have spent only small sums." Why do Asian and Middle East nations seek economic assistance, the correspondents asked? Mr. Hollister mentioned the "avaricious desire for easy money" of countries overseas. In general, he treated the correspondents as the vice president of the Cincinnati Street Car Company might treat inquisitive stockholders: none of your business seemed to be his general approach. He gave them one half hour in all, and when he left they looked at each other in near despair. "He hasn't got much money," said one in sad irony, "but his heart is sure in his job!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



First-hand report from the round tables of the White House Conference on Education

SCHOOLS: US EMERGENCY

by Michael Straight

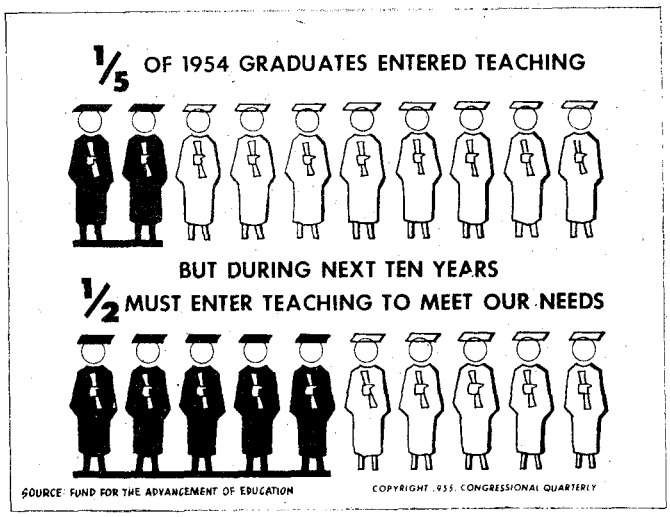
IN THE IMMENSE and garish convention hall of the Sheraton Park Hotel, Neil McElroy, President of Procter & Gamble, delivered his Chairman's Address to the 1,826 delegates who came to Washington on November 28 to attend the White House Conference on Education. "This is a conference, not a convention," he reminded them gently. "We are here to confer, not to vote." In a passage enlivened by unconscious irony, Mr. McElroy continued, "We are meeting not as legislators or representatives" but "in an honorable capacity: that of adviser to the President of the United States." The delegates sighed, earnest, responsible, and content. But some time later Louis Hollander, a grizzled veteran of the CIO, was heard voicing a mock complaint. "I wait to eat, I wait to sleep, I wait to speak, and no one seems to care what I say. *Is that the way to treat an honored adviser of President Eisenhower!*"

The labor delegates voiced other, more serious complaints about the White House Conference on Education. They charged, with some justification, that it was set up as a stall by the Eisenhower Administration to conceal its own inability to come to grips with the desperately urgent question of federal action to save our deteriorating public school system. They charged, with no justification, that the conference was stacked against the supporters of federal aid. Fifteen hundred of the delegates were chosen, and their positions influenced, in the course of preliminary conferences held in 48 states, and in the territories. And the entire process belied labor fears. For in these preliminary meetings, and in the conference itself, attention was focused on a critical problem, and constructive energies were set in motion that cannot fail to do good.

The White House Conference, of course, was far too large to fulfill its advisory role. No free expression of sentiment was possible in a plenary session. No clear directives could be drawn from a final session of representative leaders. The method of organization chosen worked against policy making, and yet no other method was possible. The basic work of the conference was done by groups of 11 delegates, meeting over three days around 166 round tables. Each group chose a chairman who presented the session report to 18 conferences of nine tables apiece; these in turn prepared a consensus which was presented at two more conferences; then the chairmen of the two conferences drafted a final report.

This was called distillation, and one of the chairmen at an intermediate conference, Lewis Waldman of New York, spoke sadly of "the disabilities of distillation." For any divergence from the established items for discussion was ruled out at once, while strongly voiced dissents by minorities, together with novel ideas and fine draftsmanship, were lost. Instead sharp definition and clear thinking were sacrificed as group chairmen chosen at random searched for lowest common denominators. And yet this was inevitable in a conference of 2,000 "advisers." The delegates listened quietly in plenary sessions to the rather flat speeches that were intended to inspire each discussion. They trooped off to their round tables to state their views on the lists of questions prepared by the directors of the Conference. They remembered Mr. McElroy's plea to help the President by "clear thinking, careful analysis of fact and reasoned expression," and so they labored over words and commas in the struggle for precise meaning and good style. Then they watched their reports rise through layers of "distillation" until like

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


1/5 OF 1954 GRADUATES ENTERED TEACHING
BUT DURING NEXT TEN YEARS
1/2 MUST ENTER TEACHING TO MEET OUR NEEDS
SOURCE: FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
COPYRIGHT 1955, CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY

ascending balloons they grew tiny and disappeared.

"Vice President Nixon had congratulated us upon being able to talk directly, in this way, to the President of the United States," reported one participant, Dr. Joel Hildebrand, to his organization, the American Chemical Society, "but I must confess that it seemed to me a little like trying to deliver a bottle of good California burgundy to a friend in Edinburgh by pouring it into San Francisco Bay, and letting him dip such of it as he could from the Firth of Forth after it had had time to diffuse thither."

But the delegates did not lose heart. They understood that it was not likely that the President would be listening to their advice in the manner outlined by Mr. McElroy. They concluded that the worth of the conference was in what they learned from each other in their own small groups. And what they learned was important. Manufacturers from the deep South listened quietly while Negroes gained acceptance for their claims for integrated schools. Californians heard New Yorkers complain of raiding, and agreed that their school superintendents are sent on roundabout routes to conventions, to entice away promising teachers and school administrators wherever they find them. The diversity of viewpoints frequently frustrated and sometimes paralyzed serious discussion at the round tables. And yet wildly improbable combinations of individuals were thrown together whose convictions and prejudices might have been shielded forever from exposure and debate. Around table 89 for example, there were gathered as equals a grade school teacher from Illinois and a brewer from Utah; a superintendent of Lutheran Schools from Missouri and a rancher from Idaho; a life insurance executive from North Carolina and an official of the League of Women Voters from New York; a municipal court judge from Minnesota and a state legislator from Idaho; Governor Allan Shivers of Texas, and Mrs. Agnes Meyer. "You must have had one hell of a time!" commented one man at a chairmen's session, after the rancher had attempted to summarize the many separate and conflicting positions of table 89 of the subject of federal aid. "Brother," the rancher groaned: "We sure did!"

"Let us do what we can to help the President," said Mr. McElroy in his opening address to the White House Conference. "That is what we are here for." But this was by no means true. The conference was assigned five topics to consider and an equal amount of time was allotted to each. Of these five only one was for the President a question of direct responsibility and immediate concern. This one topic *"How can we finance our schools?"* was fourth on the list for discussion. In a White House Conference, called to guide the federal government, this was the key subject for which the second topic on local administration and the sixth on public acceptance were barely peripheral. And yet all six were awarded equal attention. The fourth topic, which concerns the gravest needs, which raises the profoundest issues, and which today is embedded in clichés, misunderstandings and oversimplifications, was given so little time that disorder was the predictable result.

THE White House Conference in fact was a meeting of educators and citizens called to consider every aspect of the schools. As such it was logical that the delegates should be instructed first to consider *"What should our schools accomplish?"*

This was the first topic, and it is the great question from which all others follow. It raises sharp and unresolved issues today. Are our schools primarily agencies of intellectual training, or is their purpose the development of saleable skills? Is concentration upon the fundamental intellectual disciplines appropriate only for the one-fifth of our school population that is destined for college, and should the remaining four-fifths be prepared for good citizenship by vocational training or "life-adjustment" courses? Or will we re-emphasize the importance of the liberal arts in the belief that the times require higher standards of general knowledge, perspective and intellectual capacity? These questions are urgent. For since 1900 the percentage of students enrolled in a given subject in high school has declined from 84 to 54 in the sciences, from 86 to 55 percent in mathematics, and from 73 to 22 percent in foreign languages. And while the total number of college graduates has increased, the percentage who gain degrees in the liberal arts and sciences has fallen from 70 percent to 40 percent since 1920, while vocational courses have risen from 14 to 40 percent of all degrees. This drift, moreover, seems certain to continue for as long as the basic disciplines are neglected in our schools while under the free-elective system credits in home economics and history are on a par in our colleges and universities.

The pamphlet called "Suggested Home Work" which was given to the delegates did indicate that the question is one around which controversy rages today. And it did indicate that this controversy extends to issues such

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as racial integration, juvenile delinquency and religious instruction. In the course of two hours of discussion it could not be hoped that the round table could seriously consider all these issues. Their burdens were made heavier, unfortunately, by the inept phrasing of the questions they were instructed to discuss. Consequently it was a group of rather disheartened chairmen that settled down on Tuesday evening to mesh their reports for the first day. "I'm used to hearing lay people criticize lawyers for quibbling over words," said Gordon Johnson, an attorney from San Francisco. "How I wish my associates could have been here today!"

The trouble centered in the first question assigned to the round tables by the Conference directors.

> Local communities throughout the United States have inherited a commitment to provide a free opportunity to all for an education. Do we affirm this commitment made by our forefathers? If so, why?

In this inept phrasing, all sides smelled a trap. No delegate could answer *no*. But many feared that if they answered *yes*, the answer would be interpreted as an endorsement of *local* responsibility for free education and therefore as an implied repudiation of federal and state responsibility. Moreover, did "a free opportunity to all for an education" imply a sanction for the current assault on the right of all citizens in the South to attend public schools? These questions took an hour to resolve in every round table. And, after the majority of worried citizens at each round table had made it clear that the responsibility is shared, the Catholic participants pressed to win acceptance of their belief that the shared responsibility extends beyond public to parochial schools.

So the intent of the first topic was largely missed. The final statement reported to the plenary session made it clear that the commitment was for "a full opportunity for a free public education regardless of physical, intellectual, social or emotional differences, or of race, creed or religion." It added, "No level of government, local, state or national should be relieved of its appropriate responsibility in fulfilling this commitment." This was a meaningful statement, but its impact was lost on the nation. It was meaningful also to the Negro delegates, who interpreted it as an endorsement of ultimate integration. But that was the extent of the first day's work.

The delegates had been asked:

> and what should every pupil learn in school?
>
> Beyond this basic education which everyone should receive can we list in order of their importance other things the schools should try to accomplish.

To these over-generalized but important questions the conference report had little to offer. Dr. Adam Bennion, one of the two chairmen who presided at the final layer of distillation, solemnly informed the delegates that they had affirmed that: "We believe that education is necessary for the fullest development and enrichment of the individual." This sentence in the final report was followed by the still more startling news that "Education is a sound and necessary investment in the future well-being of our nation and its citizens." Most surprising of all was the assertion that the round tables had agreed that "schools are doing the best job in their history" in teaching "The fundamental skills."

There followed the consensus of the Conference on the purposes of education; the first being "the fundamental skills of communication" and "the arithmetical and mathematical skills." Next history crept in under the didactic cloak of "appreciation for our democratic heritage." Eleventh on the list, after "social competency" and "ethical behavior," was "physical and mental health." The list, then, was preferable to one compiled in 1944 by the National Association of Secondary-School Principals which placed "saleable skills" at the head of the list of youth's needs and "good health and physical fitness" in second place. But the scale of priorities in education demanded the conference was missing while the points that were listed were a jumble of attitudes that must be acquired and subjects that can be taught.

From table 40, Dr. Hildebrand and five associates filed a vigorous protest, claiming that the list of purposes was meaningless, that the complacency of the report was wholly unfounded, and that their own insistence that the schools concentrate upon their fundamental intellectual disciplines was altogether lost.

THE SECOND topic of the conference was *In what ways can we organize our school systems more efficiently and economically?* It had next to no part in a conference called to advise the President. It did point to one extremely important question for the future of public education in America: how far is the curriculum of our secondary schools to be controlled by a narrow group of administrators and educationists, and how can scholars, scientists, parents and citizens generally contribute in the determination of policy without disrupting the orderly management of our schools? But this question was lost. The discussions at the round tables were generally detailed and frequently lapsed into the "Here's how we do it in St. Louis; what do you do in Little Rock?" variety.

The third topic once again was disappointing in its concentration upon detail. It asked: *"What are our school building needs, exclusive of financing them?"* and it led to a languid discussion, the third of the day among weary delegates. The keynote speaker, William Preston Lane, Jr., of Maryland, referred to a 1953 survey conducted by the US Office of Education in which out of 41 states replying to a questionnaire, 19 maintained that they were losing ground in the struggle to keep pace with classroom needs. The conference report was more pessimistic and declared that "only two or three states have been quoted as stating that they can meet their building needs for the next five years." The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

delegates listed the traditional list of recommendations for state financing including "equalized tax valuation on a statewide basis." They anticipated federal aid in school construction and naïvely added: "The federal government should have no control whatsoever over school building plans and specifications."

On Wednesday morning the delegates turned to the first vital topic of the conference: *"How can we get enough good teachers—and keep them?"* Here, as the keynote speaker, Ethel Brown, remarked: "Each of us is a specialist." For those who were not teachers the "Homework" presented the facts, affirming these figures in terms of immediate demands:

For our elementary schools

60,000 teachers to replace those who quit each year.
25,000 to serve increasing enrollments.
30,000 to relieve overcrowding and eliminate half-day sessions.
10,000 to restore teaching in neglected subjects.
40,000 to replace unqualified teachers.

For our high schools

35,000 to replace those who quit.
5,000 to serve increasing enrollments.

The immediate elementary school demand for an additional 165,000 qualified teachers can be compared, the "Homework" pamphlet noted, to a total present force of 690,000. The immediate demand for an additional 40,000 high school teachers can be compared to a present force of 376,000 high school teachers.

In terms of the supply of teachers the "Homework" provided these figures:

35,000 Americans became qualified to be elementary school teachers in 1955.
51,000 became qualified to teach in our high schools.
The total number of college graduates has dropped from 434,000 to 285,000 since 1950. The total number of graduates prepared to teach has fallen from 115,000 to 87,000.

A further reminder of the problem was contained in an elegant blue pamphlet, distributed among the delegates and published by the Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation. It declared:

About one-fifth of all 1954 graduates of four year colleges entered school teaching. But during the next 10 years more than half of all college graduates of every variety would have to enter school teaching in order to fill our needs entirely from this major source.

Confronted by this challenge the delegates gathered to thrash out Topic 4. And here perhaps it is best to join one circle—the mild-mannered, middle-of-the-road group that met around table 90.

First the group heard a brief report from Monsignor Frederick Hochwalt, Secretary General of the National Catholic Educational Association. He had represented

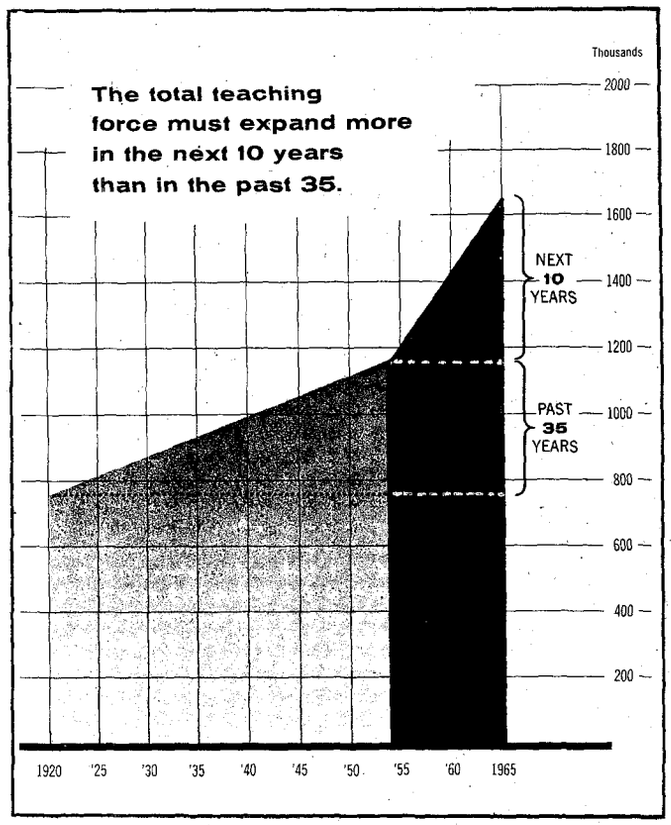


table 90 at the chairmen's conferences on the previous topic. He noted now that some issues that the group had considered at great length were passed over quickly because all agreed upon them, while others were discarded because table 90 stood alone. "They could not plumb the depths," said Hochwalt without rancor.

The chairman for this session was the writer, John Hersey. "Let us then conclude," he said, "that the important thing is the discussion we hold among ourselves and the reports which we take home. Let us strive for creative thinking to meet the basic challenge we face."

The first question assigned to the round tables was *"What do we mean by 'enough,' 'good' teachers?"* Table 90 skipped this one as wordy and went right to the second question *"Can we increase the supply of good teachers?"*

"I suppose I'm qualified to answer that," said Mrs. Harold Worden of Illinois. "I'm a high school teacher. I was recruited as a high school student. I was drawn to the profession, but I have to admit that today's students are not. The reason, I suppose, is that our teachers themselves are dissatisfied. Their attitudes show, and the students draw the conclusion."

Next, the analysis and recommendations of the preliminary state conferences of New York and New Jersey were presented by Foy Cross, Professor of Education at New York University. The conferences, he reported, had pointed to public badgering, to low pay, and to the working conditions of teachers that are so markedly inferior to those in business and other professions.

"Well," said Charles McCrary, a hosiery manufac-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

turer and school board chairman from Ashboro, North Carolina, "maybe the need is to glamorize the profession. Nurse's associations have movies made to glamorize their work. Why shouldn't teachers do the same?" But Mrs. Worden interrupted, "The youngsters aren't in the hospitals, but they are in the schools. They have their eyes open and they see."

THE recorder for this session was George Connell, a lean Southerner who is President of Mercer University in Macon, Georgia. He laid down his pen. "One reason why children are no longer attracted to the teaching profession," he said, "is the attitude of the profession itself."

"The professional," Connell continued, "is one who has achieved such competency in his work that the lay public no longer feels qualified to pass on his authority. I'm not fool enough to challenge the competency of my doctor—and yet 90 percent of the public think they can teach better than the teachers themselves. The public must recognize that teaching is a profession that demands respect."

"Well," answered Cross, "that's up to the teachers themselves. The teachers' associations, remember, have fought to prevent even the worst teachers from being fired for incompetency. They must establish and enforce minimum standards for their profession to win respect."

"I train teachers," Connell persisted, "and the fact is that the folks that choose teaching are far from the brightest."

"And yet," said Hochwalt, "you can't tell them that they're not bright."

"Or that they must be happy," Hersey added.

"You know," said Dr. John Whinnery, a superintendent of schools from Montebello, California, "it always annoys me to think that teaching is the profession that has first whack at recruiting the children in order to perpetuate itself. And yet it fails. It hasn't the spirit today."

"And why not!" added Whinnery. "In my district we have 750 teachers and principals—64 of them are graduates of our own high schools. In five of our schools we run Future Teachers Clubs. We recruit the kids in junior high, and when they get to senior high they spend one day a month helping our teachers with the younger children. Our communities were influential in pressing the state to grant scholarships of $600 a year for teacher training. And seven years ago, our teachers, out of their own pockets, established one scholarship each year." "Our teachers have prestige," Whinnery added later in the discussion. "When we announce 80 positions in teaching we have 500 applicants. It reflects the warm relationship established between teachers and parents through the interviews that we provide on the kids."

But President Connell held to the opposite view. "There's an expression down my way that you hear every Wednesday morning in the classroom," he remarked. "It's 'Two more days, CFTG' — Come Friday thank God!"

Still the problem of the teacher shortage remained. "If a man did not have a doctor's degree," ventured Mrs. Worden, "we wouldn't let him practice even if there was a need. If we refused to allow substandard teachers in our schools, if we left the rooms vacant, then maybe that would start something." "I'm afraid that this is intolerable," said Hersey sadly. "Society wouldn't stand for it."

"When we get salaries in line," suggested Milan Ryder, Chairman of the Board of Education of Weiser, Idaho, "then we will recruit." And table 90's report affirmed, "It is axiomatic that in the minds of young people financial remuneration determines their respect for a particular profession." And yet table 90, like the other 165 tables, conceded that salaries are not the sole answer. Whinnery spoke of the poor working conditions of teachers, the lack of freedom after school hours, the exhausting indignities of menial work. "On weekends," he remarked, "teachers gravitate to metropolitan areas —to lose their identities." He concluded, "We have to quit building corrals around our teachers." Later, in the chairmen's conference, Hersey rephrased the thought. "It all comes back," he said, "to the living image of the teacher in the classroom and the changes that are demanded in her life and her work." The chairman's conferences agreed. The final conference report began with Hersey's phrase, "The American public must be reawakened to the fact that teachers work with our most precious resource—our children." It called for new prestige and status for teachers, for a salary structure, "high enough and flexible enough to compete effectively with other fields bidding for quality manpower." It endorsed the Future Teachers Clubs, the extension of scholarships (without specifying where these might come from), the enlistment of all community agencies in the recruitment of high-school teacher candidates. It insisted that teachers show enthusiasm. All these no doubt are desirable. But they are all within the framework of existing concepts and they do not begin to meet the quantitative, let alone the qualitative needs of our schools.

"I HAVE a sinking feeling," Hersey remarked toward the end of table 90's discussion, "that we are not doing the creative thinking that is demanded of us." It was a fair comment. The fault in part lay with the conference directors. For in asking *"How can we get enough good teachers?"* they ignored the essential addition *"—and fully use their talents."* One sentence in the conference report pointed to the problem: "The teacher's job must be so defined as to challenge and attract the interest of talented people." But of this novel idea no more was heard.

Our present standards of public education are plainly intolerable. And yet, when the enrollment prospects of competent teachers are checked against the demand,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the teacher shortage seems insoluble today. It can be met only if 51 percent of all college graduates go into teaching for the next 10 years, and obviously neither moderate adjustments in salary nor all the peripheral remedies catalogued by the White House Conference are going to achieve this result. If the present methods of training and using teachers are continued, a progressive deterioration in educational standards must follow at every level of our schools.

The alternative is a re-examination of the broad question of the utilization of manpower in education. It points at once to the paradoxical contrast between teaching and every other profession in American life.

In every profession but teaching, the productivity of skilled professions is rising. In medicine, for example, we had one doctor for every 600 citizens in 1900; we have one doctor for 800 citizens today. And yet our standards of medical care have risen sharply. The reason, as in most other professions, is that training and ability are more productively used. Professional nurses have taken over the less skilled tasks of the doctors while the less skilled tasks of nurses have been taken over by nurses' aides. In education, in contrast, the teacher serves 25 percent fewer students than in 1900. And yet teachers spend 21 to 69 percent of their school day on housekeeping and clerical tasks that require little or no professional competence.

In every profession but teaching, moreover, productivity and ability are closely related. In any high school, in contrast, the best teacher and the worst will be found using the same textbooks, following the same methods, reaching the same number of pupils, and receiving the same rewards. In his cavalier manner, Dwight Eisenhower mentioned three years ago that teachers' salaries should be doubled. And Vice President Nixon reminded the delegates to the White House Conference that college graduates who enter teaching in New York earn substantially less than the drivers of trailer trucks, while in Detroit, carpenters make $4,846 a year in contrast to the $3,862 received by beginning teachers. Interesting as these contrasts are, however, they miss the point. It is that 41 percent of doctors and surgeons work up to incomes of over $10,000, while less than one percent of school teachers earn more than $10,000 today.

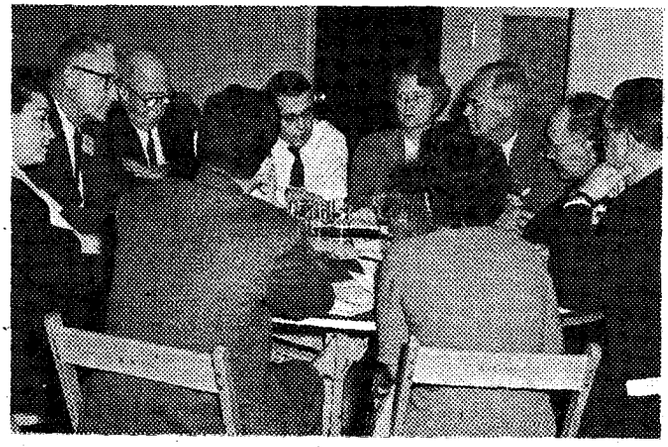
Teachers, of course, are acutely aware of the necessity for rewarding ability. And some of the sharpest exchanges among the round tables concerned the problem of merit increases in teachers' salaries. No consensus was reached and the best that the final conference report could do was to attach an endorsement for "further studies or research on merit increases for teachers" at the very end of its catalogue of needs. The reason for this evasion is plain. For generations educators have fought for uniform salary structures in the schools—regardless of the size of the schools and of classes, and of the sex of teachers. They have succeeded only too well. Today teachers' salaries are uniformly based on two rigid standards: the years that the individual has taught, and the number of college credits he or she has managed to accumulate. The ambitious and able teacher who needs more income has one place to go in education—to get out of teaching altogether and to move over to school administration.

Obviously teachers will resist discrimination in pay within job classifications. For that reason debate upon merit increases is futile. The alternative is to reorganize the salary structure, creating a series of classifications that begin with teachers' aides and move on through apprentice to master teachers.

For the best teacher, of course, pay is not the final incentive. The obstacle to recruiting individuals of ability is that the radius of impact of all teachers, good and bad, is the same. The full utilization of available ability points to broadening the radius of impact of outstanding teachers through co-operation between schools and by the use of open and closed circuit television. And education which has been so lacking in experimentation is exploring these methods of conserving and utilizing teachers' skills. The White House Conference, however, was not intended or equipped to do creative and bold thinking in this field.

On the afternoon of its second day the White House Conference turned to the real question it was summoned to consider: *"How can we finance our schools?"* The Chairman for this session at table 90 was Father Bennett Applegate, Superintendent of Schools for the Diocese of Columbus, and he almost opened the session with a prayer. "This is a very fearful question and a very difficult one," he said. "I ask for honest, frank statements of your convictions, and I promise you that I will pass all of your thinking along."

First on the agenda for discussion, which Table 90 followed, was the question of local school support. The group agreed quickly on the need for consolidation of small school districts and passed on. Next was the question of state aid for schools and the restrictions placed upon it. Table 90 agreed quickly that the assessment of real property for taxation must be transferred from local



Round table discussion at Conference

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to state hands. It agreed further that restrictions should be removed on taxing, and eased (but not removed) on borrowing authority. It recognized, however, that none of these measures could suffice. "In Georgia," said Connell, "82 cents in every tax dollar goes to our universities and schools. The state has taxed itself up to the limit of its powers."

"Should the federal government increase its financial participation in school support?" Connell had a written answer ready for that question in the Conference agenda, "If equal educational opportunities are to be made available," he read, "the federal government must provide some of the resources."

At once Frank Balcerzak, a builder and member of the Board of Education of Mankato, Minnesota, intervened. "I don't go along with that!" he declared.

"Yes, you do!" answered Connell, "or rather, your state does! You're taking 50 cents from the federal government right now for every 50 cents you spend for vocational training in agriculture and for trade schools under the George-Deen Act and the Smith-Hughes Act!"

"Well, not in secondary education!" insisted Balcerzak.

"Isn't vocational training education?" asked Hersey quietly.

Mrs. Morris Shapiro, a member of the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Education from New York City, read out a statement endorsing federal aid without federal control. Balcerzak broke in again. "It just isn't workable!" he cried. "What Senator or Representative in New York is going to go back to his constituents and say 'Friends, I've achieved the ultimate—through my efforts we're sending our tax money out of our state with no strings attached.' What's the reaction of New York going to be to that!"

"Pretty good, pretty good," said Mrs. Shapiro and Hersey together.

"I can't see it," said Balcerzak, "not beyond the areas where the federal government has great landholdings or where it's disrupted communities with atomic plants."

So table 90 recorded its inability to agree on the terms of federal aid and passed on. *"If federal funds are provided,"* the conference agenda read, *"should they be made available to all states or only to the less wealthy states?"* "To areas of proven need," suggested Mrs. Shapiro, but Monsignor Hochwalt shook his head. "I've lived for many years in Washington and spent more time than I care to remember in the Capitol. Every state has to be eligible; every appropriation bill has to have a pork barrel feature or it won't go through." Mrs. Shapiro explained that New York has "proven needs."

"For operation, for building construction, or for both?" asked the Conference agenda, speaking of federal funds. "For whatever is necessary," answered Connell.

He read the statement of the preliminary state conference held in Georgia. "Federal aid without strings attached should be provided."

"You mean construction—and *operation* of schools!" demanded McCrary.

"No strings attached," replied Connell serenely. "I can't go along with that!" cried McCrary. "Nor I," echoed Ryder.

"There's not a state in the union that can't finance school operation if it makes a maximum effort!" McCrary cried. For a moment the calm spirit of table 90 seemed in doubt.

"Perhaps," said Monsignor Hochwalt, "this is the time to make our position clear."

"We favor legislation for school construction without conditions. We are leery of the pork barrel feature, but we are perfectly sure that if aid is given it will be without discrimination among the states. We would favor federal aid for school operation on the condition that where aid to non-public schools is legal it be made mandatory for bus rides, for medical services, and perhaps for text books as well."

Some time later Mrs. Shapiro recorded the view held in New York that aid should be limited to states complying with the Supreme Court's ruling on segregation. "That," muttered McCrary, "will kill it for sure!"

"It has three times," said Monsignor Hochwalt who, when asked, replied that he would not press for this provision. He noted that three times when federal aid failed in Congress on the segregation issue, Catholics had been falsely held to blame. Connell disagreed. "I'm a descendant of Roger Williams," he declared grandly, "and a strong advocate of the absolute separation of church and state!" "I agree," said Hochwalt, smiling; he voiced his support of the plan proposed by Beardsley Ruml, which allocates federal aid to qualified schools on a per capita basis for each child.

THERE was little argument in the group, and no rancor. Granting the divisions, it came at last to a show of hands. The group favored federal aid for construction in areas of proved need. Three members supported school-operation aid. "Now," said Connell, "those who favor aid on Monsignor Hochwalt's conditions should vote accordingly." "We shall do that," said Father Applegate, and the two priests held up their hands. "Have you got it all?" Connell asked Whinnery, who was the recorder for this session. "Yes," said the school superintendent, "except that I can't spell unanimity." "And you a product of the old system!" remarked Connell.

At 7:30 on Wednesday evening the chairmen of the round tables met to combine their reports on the afternoon's discussion. And here the disorder caused by the poor scheduling became apparent. The chairmen met in the third-floor bedroom suites of the Sheraton Park, and down the length of the green-carpeted corridors cries of bafflement and confusion came from the open doors. "We were split down the middle . . . we divide five ways . . . six favored . . . three opposed . . . Mr. Chairman, can't we. . . ." At 9:30 the chairmen chosen at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

each of these sessions were due to move on to the semi-final chairmen's conference with their reports. But at 10 the din was undiminished. "Five tables said . . . nine members opposed . . . could we state it this way? . . . let's start all over." It was 10:30 before the two groups of chairmen that made up the second to last conference met.

Edgar Fuller, Executive Secretary of the Council of Chief State School Officers, was elected Chairman of the first group. He swallowed an aspirin and went to work. The group labored over local and state financing, and at 11:55 Fuller asked: "Shall we go on to federal aid?" 'I dare you!" said Bice Clemow, a Connecticut publisher, laughing. Slowly, the chairman tabulated the votes from each table and weary reporters huddled on the floor, half-asleep, as deadlines came and passed. At last, at 2:15 the stand of the conference was determined on federal aid. The final report declared:

> The participants agreed by a ratio of more than two to one the proposition that the federal government should increase its financial participation in public education. Of those favoring such increase the overwhelming majority approved an increase in federal funds for school building construction. On the issue of federal funds to the states for local school operation the participants divided almost evenly. A very small minority was opposed to federal aid to education in any form.

So through the cumbersome procedure of the conference, a demand for a new course in education made itself felt. No such firm conviction had been expressed at the preliminary state conferences, where the educationists were in a small minority. Even at this conference, setting aside the 600 educationists and the 100 trade union delegates who were already committed, the lay delegates who voted were evenly divided even on federal aid for construction. In their messages to the conference the President and Vice President had phrased their endorsement of federal aid in weasel words. And influential Republicans on the White House Committee insisted that the President still does not favor action. But now the course seems set.

For the White House Conference has a trend that is historically inevitable. In 1954 we spent $9.5 billion, or 2.7 percent of our national income on education. By 1964 we will have to spend four percent of our national income, or $20 billion a year, on education simply to prevent a further deterioration of our schools. Two billion dollars of the extra $10 billion that is required may be found through local reassessments and state sales taxes. But the rigidity of local restrictions, and the limits of taxation on local property mean that Congress must vote the largest share.

In the last session of Congress the Kelly bill, providing $1.6 billion in federal aid over four years, passed a House committee. In the coming session a comparable bill may well be supported by both parties. The parochial school issue is unlikely to prevent the enactment. Nor must the segregation issue mean its death. For the Southern delegates at the Conference were instructed to press for aid. And the Negroes were moderate and far-sighted men who are patient, believing that time is on their side, and that executive rulings may suffice to block funds for segregated schools. From now on then, the pressure for federal aid is likely to increase until it becomes a key issue in American politics.

The formidable cliché "federal aid with no federal control" remains. Obviously the federal government is not going to pour its tax money down the drain of schools that are poorly built and run. Nor is it likely to pour federal funds into a school system in the South that is constructed to keep white and Negro pupils apart. And yet the experience of social security indicates that the federal government can serve the individual without shaping his thoughts and actions. The conference in which 500,000 citizens participated amounts to a call for hard thinking on the responsibilities and limits of federal participation. And perhaps one section in the conference report on Topic 5, drafted by Bice Clemow, is the kernel of its success. "The delegates," it declares "almost unanimously opposed any federal control over the educational use of funds in . . . local school districts. Accounting by the states to the federal government for fiscal purposes was not interpreted as federal control of education."

Proportion of people earning high incomes in various professions - 1949

MEN

% Earning $10,000 or over

Physicians and Surgeons	41.0
Lawyers and judges	28.1
Dentists	24.6
Architects	18.1
Authors, editors, and reporters	10.3
College presidents, professors and instructors	5.1
Other Teachers	.9

WOMEN

% Earning $6,000 or over

Physicians and surgeons	29.3
Lawyers and judges	20.7
Authors, editors, and reporters	7.3
Designers and draftsmen	6.3
College presidents, professors, and instructors	5.5
Actresses, dancers and entertainers	4.6
Teachers	1.1

From the Fund for the Advancement of Education

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Humphrey Faces '56

by Haldore Hanson

GEORGE MAGOFFIN HUMPHREY, the Cleveland banker-industrialist, will be a key factor in the 1956 elections even if he delivers no speeches. As Secretary of the Treasury, he has made himself the Republican caretaker of tax cuts, expenditure cutting, budget balancing and debt retirement. Together these comprised the No. 1 issue on which Republicans were voted into office in 1952. And they will again be the No. 1 issue in 1956. At least that was the opinion of the majority of members of Congress when polled as they left for home in August.

During three years in office Mr. Humphrey has made a substantial down payment. With help from Congress he cut taxes $3.7 billion in 1954. With help from other Cabinet members he has cut federal cash expenditures nearly $2 billion. He has reduced the cash deficit from $4.1 billion in Harry Truman's last year to $1.7 billion estimated for the current year, and even that may be wiped out altogether. Only on debt retirement has Mr. Humphrey made no headway. The Harry Truman debt of $259 billion which this Administration inherited has now become the $273 billion Eisenhower debt, an increase of $14 billion.

If elections were held today, Mr. Humphrey's is a creditable record to recite to the voters, especially to those who voted for economy in 1952. Democrats would contend that some budget cuts hurt most of the people, and some tax cuts helped the few. But they always have argued that way.

The real test of Mr. Humphrey will come in 1956, his Ides of March. Already the pressures to spend are coming at the Secretary like the knives at Caesar. These pressures come from every member of the Cabinet, from some Republican Congressmen worried sleepless over the farm revolt, from Democratic leaders like Lyndon Johnson who has put out his own 12-point spending program. If the Administration yields to even a fraction of these pressures, the balanced budget is out the window.

At the same time a tax cut has become a political certainty, even without Administration blessing. And that in turn means the prospect for debt retirement prior to the election is nil.

This cloudy weather ahead prompts an attempt at a trial balance on Mr. Humphrey—as budget balancer, as tax cutter—on the eve of the return of Congress for its election year session.

Here are the major spending pressures, some growing out of a worsening international situation, some from domestic needs long postponed by World War II and the Korean War.

Military costs: The spectacular progress made by the Russians in developing intercontinental bombers and long-range jet fighters was revealed in Moscow fly-bys last April. This prompted the Defense Department to speed up American procurement of these items by shifting funds. An Air Force request for $1 billion in new development funds was met only partially from existing appropriations. The chiefs of staff of all three services are now known to be urging Defense Secretary Wilson to request larger funds for the next fiscal year. Despite these developments, Secretary Humphrey predicated his budget forecast of August, 1955, on a further reduction of $500 million in military costs.

Foreign aid: Recent Russian offers of substantial economic aid to Asian countries have set off extensive reappraisals of the American program in both the State and Defense Departments. A sharp cleavage has developed between the career staff officers, who favor a more dynamic program, and members of the cabinet and subcabinet, who publicly assert that present aid is adequate and that Russian offers appear to be a bluff. A national committee of distinguished private citizens is being organized to press for larger aid to Asia, after the manner of the Committee for the Marshall Plan of 1947-48.

International information: After the failure of the recent foreign ministers conference, the Director of the US Information Agency announced he would request for next year approximately twice the $85 million he is now spending.

Farm aid: Secretary of Agriculture Benson's national advisory committee has recommended a new "soil bank" plan which would cost $439 million the first year, and more than $1 billion during the ensuing 10 years. Proposals by individual Democratic Senators have been estimated to cost as high as $1 billion the first year. There is no question but that the Administration will yield and support some kind of farm program costing substantially more than in the past.

School construction aid: Last February the President proposed an "interim" program for school aid, recommending $220 million in federal grants to impoverished school districts over a 3-year period. Congressional Democrats called the President's program "skimpy" and drafted their own bill to provide $1.6 billion in federal matching grants over a 4-year period. The Democratic bill was voted out by the House Committee and awaits floor action in January. The views expressed at the recent White House Conference on Education will increase

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the sense of urgency for some kind of construction aid.

Highway construction aid: President Eisenhower submitted to the last Congress a multi-billion dollar program of federal highway aid to be financed by non-Treasury bonds, and thus remain outside the federal budget. Congressional committees rejected this approach as too costly and substituted Democratic legislation providing federal highway grants out of regular appropriations. Both parties are committed to passage of some kind of federal highway aid in 1956.

Public housing: The 1955 public housing legislation ended in a compromise, providing aid somewhat higher than the President requested and substantially lower than the Democrats urged. Sen. Johnson predicts a new housing bill in 1956 will raise the targets.

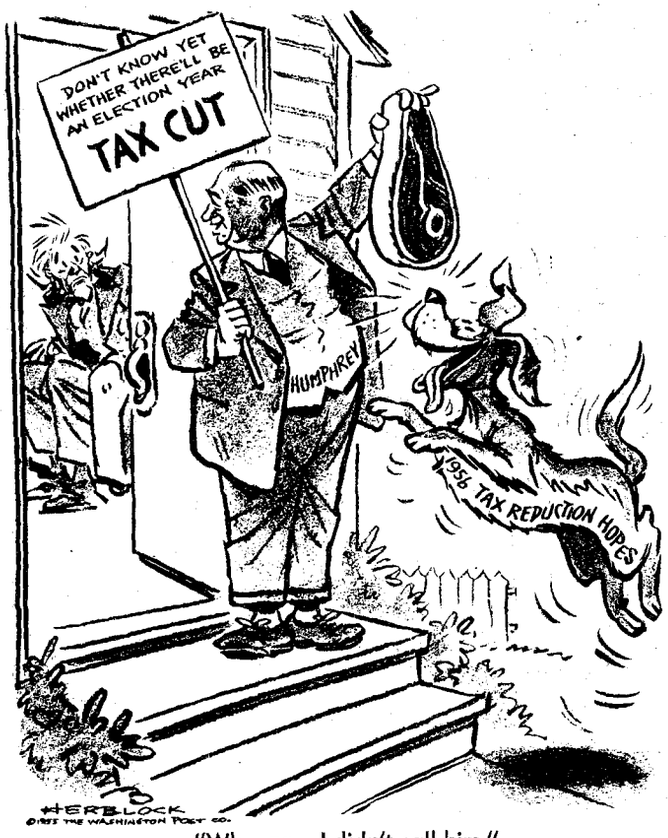
Water resources: In order to capitalize on public criticism against the present policy of neglecting public power development, Democrats have drawn up a federal water resources bill authorizing a higher Hell's Canyon dam, the Frying Pan-Arkansas project, Niagara development, the Upper Colorado Basin project, Passamaquoddy tidal survey project, and New England regional water development. This bill is on Sen. Johnson's "must" list.

Distressed areas aid: The White House announced in October that new legislation would be recommended in the State of the Union Message to provide federal loans and grants to distressed areas in the US where unemployment remains chronically high. Examples are the coal mining towns of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, and textile manufacturing towns in New England.

No price tags can now be placed upon most of these pressures, because the cost will be determined by compromises reached in Congressional committees. Committees will hear the views of the President, and the problem of Mr. Humphrey in fulfilling the Republican campaign pledge of a balanced budget will play an important part. But the pressure to give the voter what he wants in an election year will rise to tidal wave proportions, even in the Republican Party.

On tax cuts Mr. Humphrey's prospect is no less forbidding. The Treasury has announced it will draw up its 1956 tax proposals at the end of this month, when the full 1955 tax receipts can be reviewed. But Mr. Humphrey has stated repeatedly he would oppose a tax cut unless a budget balance was in sight.

Democratic leaders, including Senators George and Johnson, have declared themselves for a 1956 tax reduction for low income brackets, regardless of a balanced budget. They tend to favor an increase in the individual exemption from $600 to $700, rather than the flat $20 tax credit which the House passed in 1955. The loss to the Treasury would be $2.4 billion. If the world situation should make it difficult for the government to forego this revenue in 1956, Democratic leaders propose to offset the lower-bracket benefits with a compensating tax on some other source.



"Why, no—I didn't call him."

There is little doubt around Capitol Hill today that such a lower-bracket cut will go through in 1956, even over a Presidential veto if necessary. Many Republicans in Congress would find it difficult to support Mr. Humphrey's orthodoxy on such a vote.

Secretary Humphrey must take a stand before the end of December on two other forms of tax cuts in 1956. The corporate income tax rate is scheduled under present law to drop from 52 percent to 47 percent on April 1, 1956. This reduction would mean a loss of $2 billion in federal revenue. Also excise taxes on tobacco, alcoholic beverages, and automobiles, which were increased to help finance the Korean War, are due by law to revert to pre-Korean rates on April 1, 1956. These reductions will mean a loss of another $1 billion. The Treasury has indicated it will ask continuation of these rates for another year.

If the Administration stands by Secretary Humphrey's no-tax-cut policy, it can still campaign in 1956 on its 1954 tax reductions, totalling $3.7 billion. This included a drop in personal income taxes of about 8 percent, elimination of the excess profits taxes on corporations, and the hundreds of miscellaneous tax decreases in the Internal Revenue Act of 1954, including benefits for stockholders, working mothers, policemen, ministers of the gospel, people with extraordinary medical expenses, and many others.

If these acts had been passed in 1956, they would make excellent campaign arguments. But Mr. Humphrey will now be confronted with that old political cry, "What have you done for me lately?"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Superficial Aspect

Statesmen & Politicians

The first frost of the political season came with Stevenson's "moderation" speech in Chicago and curiously enough the people worst nipped were not Morse and Humphrey (the Senator, not the Secretary) but Truman, Harriman and Mennen Williams, all characters conspicuous more for their political know-how than for the radicalism of their social philosophy.

In other words, the speech was adjudged bad politics by three pretty competent authorities, yet it certainly reflected an opinion widespread throughout the country. This gives pause to an observer equipped with none but outside information. Why should expression of a popular mood be bad politics?

Perhaps the explanation is the very fact that it expressed a popular mood. Nobody objects to the moderation of the Eisenhower Administration; what people object to is its moral insensitivity, rising at times close to moral indecency. Every Administration has its moral lapses. Truman, for example, was caught flat-footed with that Caudle person who had been using his position as assistant to a Cabinet officer to collect fancy dinners and week-ends at expensive resorts; but when Caudle was exposed Truman didn't give him a medal and a kiss on both cheeks. Truman gave him the boot.

To the exit of Caudle, thrown out on his ear, compare the exits of Talbott, Strobel, Wenzell, Andrews and Cross, all of whom were accused of using their government positions to profit in a way that makes the wretched Caudle's pickings look like mere chicken-feed, but all of whom withdrew, smeared with Administration goose-grease from head to foot while the full orchestra of the one-party press played "Hearts and Flowers." That is what gives Truman the pip and has persuaded Harriman and Williams that Stevenson is 27 miles off the beam.

Truman, Harriman and Williams are all well aware that the farm policy, the foreign policy, the fiscal policy and especially the social policy of this Administration are open to attack. But they are also aware that these are debatable, while the issue of common decency isn't. Of course, nobody in his right mind questions the integrity of the President but he, like Old Dog Tray, has been running with a sheep-killing pack, which means that a few misdirected stones will almost certainly bounce off him.

Ask Truman. He was denounced with unmeasured violence for having Caudle there in the first place, and he did not put up much of a defense, for in his heart he knew that he had it coming. But when he sees his successor caught, not with one, but with five specimens morally on a level with Caudle, it is natural for him to think that the successor deserves what Truman got, and to be wrathful when it is delayed.

The flat truth is that Eisenhower, like Grant before him, has displayed the soldier's characteristic awe of Big Business, and has not displayed much more discrimination than Grant's in choosing among big businessmen. There are certainly rich men in this country with as keen an appreciation of the ethics of public service as could be wished. Roosevelt found them; but Roosevelt had not spent 40 years in the Army. He had learned how to pick and choose, and great wealth could not blind him to those slight indications that are the best guides to judgment of character.

As a matter of fact, the millionaires in Roosevelt's service did much to restore the shattered prestige of Big Business. Harriman was one of them. And Woodin, Morgenthau, Stettinus, Knudsen, Biddle and Jesse Jones were all men of great wealth, some of whom drew criticism indeed, but not for cheap attempts to turn public service to private profit.

Three years under Eisenhower have pretty well undone all that. The shoddy deals that have been exposed in a long procession have reduced the reputation of the rich man in government to a lower level than it occupied before Roosevelt. Logically, this is perhaps not of supreme importance. One serious error in foreign policy by the Secretary of State can do the country more damage than all the graft that can be collected by a dozen small fry. But the political effect of the small fry's nastiness when it is exposed is tremendous, and Adlai Stevenson is engaged in a political campaign.

That is why his use of the word "moderation" had such a galvanic effect on Truman, Harriman and Williams. None of them has any right to suppose that Stevenson is only moderately opposed to the cheap and nasty; but they have every right to believe that the recurrent exposures of the cheap and nasty constitute the widest breach in the defenses of the Republican Party, and they can't understand why Stevenson doesn't go swarming in.

Without doubt, the reason is that Stevenson as a statesman is concerned with weightier matters. But it is not enough to be a statesman to be elected President; you have to be a good politician too, and to hit the obvious error of the opposition is better politics than to hit an error that may be more dangerous to the country, but is not so glaringly evident to the voting public.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & COMMENT

The Great White Father in the Congo

by Daniel M. Friedenberg

BASIL DAVIDSON, perhaps the finest left-of-center expert on Africa in the world today, has honored civilized society with another short book, this time on central Africa, with its emphasis particularly directed on the Congo Basin.

It is with deliberate intent that Mr. Davidson must be called left-of-center and not liberal. Everyone is "liberal" today: John Foster Dulles, the editors of the *Freeman* and the *American Mercury*, French nationalists, even General Franco talk of saving Western Civilization and hence are liberal. But Basil Davidson has a bad habit of writing what he knows about and hence must be suspect by all the legions of the drafty head and wallowing heart.

The African Awakening, by Basil Davidson (Macmillan; $2.50).

The author is a maverick. Instead of flying, he walks; instead of clipping, he reads; instead of touring, he resides. *The African Awakening*, as a consequence, is the most rewarding study of African ferment that has appeared in many years.

The method of Mr. Davidson is deceptively simple. Starting with the first contact of the Portuguese with Africa, he shows the unveiling of white influence, its intrinsic motives and the results. At the end of the fifteenth century Diogo Cao, sailing for King Dom John the Second, put ashore at the mouth of the Congo. He was met by another king, Nzinga a Nkuwa, Lord of the Congo, a territory several times the size of Portugal. The Congo king welcomed the strange men and soon embraced Christianity, seeing in it the basis of the white man's superior knowledge. Isolated in the tropical jungle, hopeful for advance, Nzinga a Nkuwa sought with all his power and understanding to learn from the Portuguese. But the white men were not interested in teaching ideas, only rather in an inexhaustible supply of slave labor for the newly opened silver mines of America. The result was that Nzinga a Nkuwa and his successors, instead of being taught by the Portuguese the knowledge they craved, became tools for white spoliation.

Slavery which had always existed in African society as an integral part of tribal structure, rapidly deteriorated into an instrument for depopulating whole communities. Within a century, the kingly rulers of the Congo were reduced to clutching pimps for European slavers, without authority in their homeland, without hope for themselves. The possible benefits of Portuguese penetration were fatally sterilized by the slave trade, breaking the social links of tribal society, transforming African life into a savage manhunt. Whatever culture had been built up was utterly destroyed, leaving the Africans in far more disorganized misery than previous to the white man's coming. The author quotes the severe final judgment of the German, A. Ihle:

> The Congo kingdom was subjected to the influence of Christian missions and European culture uninterruptedly for over two hundred years. But when one looks for the results of all this missionary endeavor one only concludes that there emerged from it neither moral nor material advantages for the negro.

The enormity of the slave trade is thrust aside in present days with a subconscious sense of guilt, since it interferes with our own gilded vision of Western Values. The facts are indeed appalling. A Portuguese historian has estimated, from Portuguese documents, a figure close to 1.5 million slaves taken out of Angola alone *before* 1641. Since the majority died on shipboard and only a small minority of those remaining endured the practised brutality of plantation and mine owners, the slavers were forced to wrench more and more blacks from Africa until by the first years of the nineteenth century up to 30,000 Africans were herded to the Americas each year. The result was that soon the blacks far exceeded the whites in Brazil and the early 13 Colonies had a Negro count estimated to be almost 20 per cent of the total population. If it were not for the humanitarian zeal of the early nineteenth century, it might very well be that the Americas, and not Africa, would be the home of the black race today.

But the worst was yet to come for the Congo natives.

In 1885, King Leopold II of the Belgians, disgruntled by his inability to hack provinces out of Africa like his reigning cousins, managed by an adroit bit of maneuvering to gain possession of the Congo. Posing as an idealist enraged at the last remnants of Arab slavery in central Africa, he gained the support of the United States for his puppet African Association. France, hating England, also supported him and the game was won. American idealists, thus, were directly responsible for creating the most sordid colonial regime of nineteenth century Africa.

THE Leopoldian system was simple in the extreme. The natural wealth of the Congo, mainly ivory and rubber, belonged to the king and not the native people. Hence, if his subjects were remiss in their duties to bring forth specified quotas, they were tortured and shot. The result was that, in the words of Basil Davidson, Leopold II "probably killed off more Africans in a couple of decades than the slave trade had succeeded in doing through the whole of the preceding century." According to an English observer sent to check the stench rising from the Congo, the natives had declined over the decades before 1905 by nearly three million. Even today, as a long term consequence, the population is smaller than the first estimates made 75 years ago.

This was fortunately the nadir. The Belgian people themselves rose in wrath. Commissions were established which checked the most obvious excesses. By the time of the first World War conditions had improved so rapidly in the Congo that the colony was being administered on the same level of diffident bestiality as the rest of central Africa.

The discovery of enormous mineral

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

resources in the southeast Congo was a signal for the modern world to enter African history. Copper, gold, tin and uranium were goods requiring a different method of exploitation than ivory and rubber. Mining, smelting and transporting called for skilled techniques totally alien to the corruption and liquidation of native chiefs. White labor could not be attracted to the steaming tropics and it was necessary to revolutionize the approach to the native population. The Belgians, being a pragmatic, technologic people, rapidly adjusted their mental horizon to the new situation. Although the European ideal, as Mr. Davidson caustically states, was to have the African market and African cheap labor without having the Africans, this was not possible.

And so the native Soul was discovered: it at last became feasible to recognize that blacks were also human when profits increased in relation to their being treated humanely. As long as wealth-getting had consisted in raping nature, as under the Leopoldian system, the black was a mere object. But when his higher skills were demanded for the operation of the new technological processes, he was at last permitted to join the human race.

The conscious knowledge by the Belgians of the value labor adds to the process of capital accretion was not, however, a one-way street. The growing value of black labor started an ever-widening arc of flight from the traditional centers of tribal authority to the new cities and a disintegration of the old master-slave relation. When the Africans entered an urban industrial economy they departed not only from the tribe, but the whole set of values that this life had implied. For the first time in African history the black man actually began to *participate* in modern civilization. Although the wages paid to Africans were far below the whites, the black gained both in self-development and dignity. Furthermore, the policy of tying wage rates to degrees of skill, what is called the Stakhanovite system in Russia and was outlawed by labor unions in Western countries many years ago, at least had the merit of consciously linking in the minds of the natives a relation between self-improvement and community respect. A scarcity of labor and boom time for Congo minerals—devoted, incidentally, to bigger and better atomic bombs—gave the natives an opportunity that centuries of missionary endeavor and stay-at-home idealists had not afforded. What Basil Davidson calls the "turning point" for central Africa occurred when the practical Belgians realized the cash advantages under industrialism of a humanitarian attitude.

But, with every additional trained native, the fatal dilemma of the Belgian administration became more apparent. For the heart of the Bruxelles policy is to seal off economics from politics, to create a docile black middle class so grateful to the white man that it will humbly permit its life to be organized by the Great White Father. A native can be a lather, a blacksmith, a clerk, even a locomotive engineer, but he is forbidden all access to the law, political history or the social sciences.

Yet, as Basil Davidson asks, if the Belgian system provides splendid advances for African skilled labor, how can the same laboring man be denied all political development by a rigid paternalism? The Belgians are so petrified of modern ideas (for good or bad) as distinguished from modern techniques, that they have even sealed off the Congo from white immigration. It is as difficult for a white immigrant to enter the Congo as it is for a native to get out.

In spite of the rigid control, however, the twentieth century erodes at the framework. As the author says:

> The very African workers apparently most advantaged by Belgian industrial policy are those who tend to be most dissatisfied with Belgian political policy—no doubt because it is they who understand it best.

Just because the Belgian administration is better and more efficient, the problem is revealed in all its harshness. The colonial system has served to destroy the old tribal authority with its recognized values and yet proves incapable of building a new authority. Unless the Belgians modify their policy of deliberately repressing all native political activity—and at the present time they are making the first fumbling approach to native municipal elections—they will kill their colonial golden goose. One finishes Basil Davidson's sardonic account wondering whether he would be saddened or exhilarated by this probable event.

Can you afford to take your *freedom* for granted?

Three of America's leading citizens—each of them a true "conservative"—show why you can't.

NATIONAL SECURITY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM by **John Lord O'Brian.** "Rarely has so much been said so well in so few pages. I brand John Lord O'Brian 'controversial'—and commend him to you." —ROSCOE DRUMMOND, *N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review.* $2.00

THE SUPREME COURT IN THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT by **Robert H. Jackson** is "the twentieth century's first comprehensive study of the Supreme Court written by a sitting justice . . . the whole work is charged with the electricity of conviction."—EDMOND CAHN, *N. Y. Times Book Review.* $2.00

THE FIFTH AMENDMENT TODAY by **Erwin N. Griswold.** "Such a statement from a legal authority, and a conservative one at that, is conclusive proof that old-fashioned Americanism has not perished." —GERALD W. JOHNSON. Clothbound, $2.00. Paper, 50¢

Through your bookseller, or from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
44 Francis Avenue, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Anatomy of Reaction

by Gus Tyler

The New American Right is not, as its title might imply, a neo-conservative credo. The seven essays that compose this book were all written by men well to the left-of-center, who are digging to uncover the social roots of the "new right." In their attempts to establish a new approach to politics, these authors may be pioneering for a "new left."

It is the "radical right" that these essays discuss: not the up-dated Burkeism of Russell Kirk but the up-dated Know-Nothingism of Joseph McCarthy.

The New American Right, edited by Daniel Bell (Criterion; $4).

This concentration on McCarthyism gives the book a slight odor of being dated, although all the essays have been written within the last year.

If the major thesis of the book is correct, however, then the "new right" that momentarily clustered around McCarthy may be a far more permanent force in our body politic than the senator himself. The personal predominance of McCarthy and the concentration on anti-Communism were the superficial aspects of the "new right," according to the thesis. The causes were the frustrations of "status-driven" social groups.

The argument runs: This decade of prosperity has lifted large social groups to a new economic level. These newly risen groups are now reaching for social status. They do so by proclaiming their super-patriotism and by assailing the old ruling classes: the Protestant snobs of the Eastern seaboard. They seek a political leadership that will express this mood. In so doing, they find themselves in a united front with those members of the old ruling class who are losing status and who seek to hold on by denouncing all foreigners and all those disturbing economic forces that have unsettled the *ancien regime.* The common enemy is a fantasy monster called Communism, imported from foreign climes by the New Deal and turned loose on the American people by an effete, bohemian, homosexual aristocrat wearing spats and talking Harvardese. McCarthy is a vulgarian St. George.

Although this thesis pervades the entire book, the Collection is more a symposium than a consistent presentation with essays by Daniel Bell, Richard Hofstadter, David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, Peter Viereck, Talcott Parsons and S. M. Lipset. Since all seven essays were written independently — six of them having appeared earlier and elsewhere— they do not dovetail in detail. Some essays even contradict others. What they have in common is a subject and a methodology: to the traditional methods of historical interpretation is added a psycho-sociologic interpretation. In their excited and exciting play with this new instrument, the authors produce a brilliant crazy quilt of startling insights and guesswork, strangely reminiscent of the early days of psychoanalysis.

In this mass psychoanalysis of the "new right," the authors use the standard words of the trade—id, ego, status, frustration, aggression, compensation, anxiety—but they do it in novel, almost compulsively unorthodox, way. Here are some of their unorthodox tenets:

Periods of prosperity, not depression, produce movements of intolerance. McCarthy's "new right" is a lineal descendant of LaFollette's Progressivism: protest of the new middle class (or the Midwest) against the *Hohenheeren* of the East. The poor are the most intolerant sector of the population and when they rise to some riches they carry their intolerance with them. McCarthyism showed a high degree of tolerance toward Jews and Negroes. Anti-semitism is a product of the super-ego, with Jews symbolizing wealth, unattained ambition. Prosperity—partly realized ambition—lessens anti-semitism but heightens hatred of the older ruling cliques: a still unattained ambition. Anti-Negroism is a product of the id, with Negro symbolizing sexuality. Sexual "emancipation" has lessened anti-Negroism but heightened fear of homosexuality: the boys in the State Department. The great struggle between "right" and "left" in the U. S. is not over freedom or bread but over "the psychological satisfaction of determining the future value-pattern of American society." The intimacy of college education for the millions has bred contempt for the intellectuals, thus weakening the influence of the brainy cadres who led in the Thirties.

Although some of the essays lean on research, most of the book consists of daring hypotheses, too numerous to be weighed singly and too mixed either to be blessed or damned as a whole.

Curiously, although these essays assume an exhaustion of liberalism, largely because of our current prosperity, and further assume that the "new right" is "powerful enough to set the tone of our political life," the general mood is optimistic and summarized in Peter Viereck's belief that "the McCarthy revolution and all other extremes of right and left will almost certainly lose." The "new right" is more a recurrent yelp than a deep social rumbling.

This uneven book is a significant contribution to that body of literature sprung from this age of emptiness: a self analysis of the spiritual vacuum created by physical fullness. The "new right" is—or maybe, was—a moment of movement in a stagnant hour, a rush of some emotions to fill the vacuum. In a reasonably non-judgmental way, this book attempts to record the origins, direction and duration of that movement.

His last . . .
and greatest . . . book

WALTER WHITE

"One of the most buoyant and brilliant as well as one of the most heartfelt of American testaments . . . a book for all the world to read."
—N. Y. Times

A great leader's final estimate of the march he led and the distance yet to go. In it, he sums up the Negro's positive gains in the last 15 years in education, voting power, the Armed Services, sports, employment, and housing. The challenging story of one of the most remarkable advances in human history. $3.50

HOW FAR THE PROMISED LAND?

THE VIKING PRESS
NEW YORK 17

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Jonathan Swift, A Critical Biography, by John Middleton Murry (Noonday; $6).

THE interest in Swift today is in the man and in the contradictions of his personality. He was a violently emotional rationalist. He was an Irish patriot who hated Ireland. He was a churchman whose advancement was probably blocked because of the irreligion and obscenity in his writings. He was a man who attracted women and was attracted by them, but who wrote of them, at least in his final years, with a severity bordering on savagery.

With these dramatic contrasts, then, it is perhaps not surprising that biographers of Swift tend to exaggerate or minimize his eccentricities. The nineteenth century often showed him as a snarling filthy monster; in correcting this hysterical view, the twentieth century is likely to give us someone almost suburban. Swift was not an ordinary mortal by any means—none of his contemporaries mistook him for one—and it is a distinction of the new critical biography by Middleton Murry that some of the drama and mystery have been restored. Possibly Murry has restored too much. He has certainly not skimped the women in Swift's life: he gives more importance than usual to Varina, he has three chapters on Vanessa, and he accepts the story of the marriage to Stella. But he has faced up to the apparent inconsistencies and made a valiant effort to reconcile them.

Biographers become partisan about Swift, but Murry avoids writing either an apology or an attack. He takes the early odes seriously. He reminds us that the *Tale of a Tub* is a comic work, though like all comedy destructive. He praises the *Proposal for Correcting . . . the English Tongue,* which it is customary to patronize. He even defends the use of horses in Book Four of *Gulliver.* But he is not impressed with Swift as a political thinker nor even as a sound historian.

Murry makes no claim to add anything new to Swift scholarship, but he has given a conscientious handling of the available biographical information, and the resulting interpretation of Swift is a believable one.

PAUL V. THOMPSON

Village India: Studies in the Little Community, edited by McKim Marriott (Chicago; $4.50).

IN THIS VOLUME, seven anthropologists report on Indian villages in which they have lived. The India that emerges in these studies—set in five different linguistic regions of the country—is an India in the throes of fundamental social change; a grass-roots convulsion sooner or later catching up with the course of national political events. The authors succeed in reporting this social change while at the same time describing with scholarly depth the traditional society under transformation. This pioneering book represents the first output of American anthropologists who have focused their work on India in the postwar period. The papers vary in general interest from E. Kathleen Gough's vivid picture of Brahmins at bay in a South Indian village to other papers addressed almost entirely to the anthropologists primarily interested in methodology.

The references in the book to village education provide an interesting backdrop for the recommendations in *Rural Institutes,* recent report of the Indian Education Ministry's Committee on Higher Education in Rural Areas.

SELIG HARRISON

The Revelations of Dr. Modesto, by Alan Harrington (Knopf; $3.50).

IF Alan Harrington's first novel *The Revelations of Dr. Modesto* doesn't quite come off as he hoped, he has attempted something very difficult; he has tried to write satire, an art that is near death in the United States.

Much of the novel seems to come straight from David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd.* A lonely insurance salesman who whittles wooden ducks in his roominghouse basement, panics at his landlady's advances, and breaks out in a sweat when confronting a prospect discovers the mail-order doctrine of Dr. Modesto. "FAILURE? TRY CENTRALISM!" the magazine ad shouts, and a powerful black-forefinger points at Hal Hingham. He starts centralizing himself . . .

> Have no mind of your own. Have no thought, opinion, habit, no desire or preference, no enthusiasm, love or fear of your own. *Be* the composite of your neighbors. . . . When you have not a shred of individuality left, no one can clash with you. . . . Nobody can resist you. How could they? . . . They are completely centralized by you

And in one day of applying Centralism Hal centralizes nearly a whole New England town into buying Arcadia Life insurance policies. But in so doing he violates rule No. 26 of Centralism: Never be a champion. The life of Hal the Arcadia hero then becomes a desperate struggle to find Dr. Modesto and ask his forgiveness. Hal, of course, is the personification of Dr. Riesman's other-directed contemporary American, just as Merko the Fly (whom Hal meets during his wanderings) is Dr. Riesman's inner-directed man, and Mr. Harrington exaggerates them into genuine figures of satire. But they are not real people; they cannot be projected into even half-rational worlds, and when Mr. Harrington ventures to do it, he finds he must rescue them with fantasy.

WEBSTER SCHOTT

The Spider's House, by Paul Bowles (Random House; $3.95).

THE RECENT RETURN of Mohammed ben Youssef to the Moroccan throne gives added significance to Bowles' novel about the period which will be known—happily to almost all but the French—as an interregnum. While the rather loose plot centers around the perambulations and soul-searching of Aram, a 15-year-old Moslem, the real stuff of the book is concerned with the political and social conflicts between colonial-imperialism and the nationalism of the Istiqlal, Morocco's party of independence. Bowles is a craftsman but no stylist and his book occasionally falls flat because of its drab (if clear) prose.

ROBERT PARRIS

Notes on Contributors

DANIEL FRIEDENBERG is a New York businessman. GUS TYLER is political director of the ILGWU. PAUL V. THOMPSON is on the faculty of the University of Colorado. SELIG HARRISON recently returned from India. WEBSTER SCHOTT and ROBERT PARRIS are free-lance writers. DAVID R. EBBITT is on the staff of a text-book publishing house.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS FOR CHRISTMAS

A List of Distinguished New Titles

The Collected Stories of Isaac Babel (Criterion; $5).
All Men Are Mortal, by Simone de Beauvoir (World; $5).
Molloy, by Samuel Beckett (Grove; $3).
The Restoration of Learning, by Arthur Bestor (Knopf; $6).
The Lion and the Honeycomb, by R. P. Blackmur (Harcourt, Brace; $5).
A World of Love, by Elizabeth Bowen (Knopf; $3.50).
The New Dimensions of Peace, by Chester Bowles (Harper; $4.50).
The Seagull on the Step, by Kay Boyle (Knopf; $3.50).
The Myth of Sisyphus and other essays, by Albert Camus, translated by Justin O'Brien (Knopf; $3.50).
The Selected Letters of Anton Chekhov, edited by Lillian Hellman, translated by Sidonie K. Lederer (Farrar, Straus and Cudahy; $4).
Mother and Son, by Ivy Compton-Burnett (Messner; $3.50).
An End to Innocence, by Leslie A. Fiedler (Beacon, cloth; $3.50; paper $1.25).
Homer's Daughter, by Robert Graves (Doubleday; $3.95).
Inside Africa, by John Gunther (Harper; $6).
The Simple Truth, by Elizabeth Hardwicke (Harcourt, Brace; $3.50).
The Liberal Tradition in America, by Louis Hartz (Harcourt, Brace; $4.75).
Protestant-Catholic-Jew, by Will Herberg (Doubleday; $4).
The Genius and the Goddess, by Aldous Huxley (Harper; $2.75).
Reason and Existenz, by Karl Jaspers (Noonday; $3.50).
The Inmost Leaf, by Alfred Kazin (Harcourt, Brace; $4.75).
Part of Our Time, by Murray Kempton (Simon and Schuster; $4).
The Trail of the Dinosaur, by Arthur Koestler (Macmillan; $3.75).
The Republic of Letters, by Louis Kronenberger (Knopf; $3.75).
The Whispering Gallery, by John Lehmann (Harcourt, Brace; $5).

Art Books

The Fifteenth Century (From van Eyck to Botticelli), text by G. C. Argan and Jacques Lassaigne (Skira; $20).
Manet, text by George Battaile (Skira; $4.95).
Picasso, His Life and Work, text by Wilhelm Boeck and Jaime Sabartes (Abrams; $15).
The Goya Frescoes in the Church of San Antonio de la Florida, text by E. F. Ferrari (Skira; $15).
Goya, text by Pierre Gassier (Skira; $4.95).
Picasso: 55 Years of His Graphic Work, text by Bernhard Geiser (Abrams; $10).
Brueghel, edited by Gustav Gluck (Braziller; $15).
Art Treasures of the National Gallery, London, text by Sir Philip Hendy (Abrams; $15).
Tiepolo: His Life and Work, text by Antonio Morassi (Phaidon; $8.50).
Raphael, text by Maria Pittaluga (Abrams; $12.50).
Mantegna: Paintings, Drawings and Engravings, text by Erica Titze-Conrat (Phaidon; $8.50).

Poetry

A Letter from Li Po, by Conrad Aiken (Oxford; $4).
The Shield of Achilles, by W. H. Auden (Random House; $3).
Poems by Elizabeth Bishop (Houghton Mifflin; $2.75).
The Poems of Emily Dickinson, variorum edition by Thomas A. Johnson (Harvard; 3 volumes, $25).
Birthdays from the Ocean, by Isabella Gardner (Houghton Mifflin; $2.50).
Collected Poems, by Robert Graves (Doubleday; $4.50).
Exiles and Marriages, by Donald Hall (Viking; $3.00).
Selected Poems, by Randall Jarrell (Knopf; $4).
Poems of a Multimillionaire, by Valery Larbaud, translated by William Jay Smith (Grove; $3).
Collected Poems, by Stephen Spender (Random House; $4).
The Desert Music and other poems, by William Carlos Williams (Random House; $3).

The Public Philosophy, by Walter Lippmann (Little, Brown; $3.50).
The Red Carpet, by Marshall MacDuffie (Norton; $4.50).
The Deer Park, by Norman Mailer (Putnam; $4).
The Confessions of Felix Krull, by Thomas Mann (Knopf; $4.50).
A Charmed Life, by Mary McCarthy (Harcourt, Brace; $3.95).
The Seizure of Power, by Czeslaw Milosz (Criterion; $3).
A Ghost at Noon, by Alberto Moravia (Farrar, Straus and Cudahy; $3.50).
Young Toerless, by Robert Musil (Pantheon; $2.95).
The Self and the Dramas of History, by Reinhold Niebuhr (Scribner's; $3.75).
Ten North Frederick, by John O'Hara (Random House; $3.95).
The Open Mind, by J. Robert Oppenheimer (Simon and Schuster; $2.75).
Thackeray; The Uses of Adversity, by Gordon N. Ray (McGraw-Hill; $7).
Nightmares of Eminent Persons, by Bertrand Russell (Simon and Schuster; $3.50).
The New Men, by C. P. Snow (Scribner's; $3.50).
Some Prefer Nettles, by Junichiro Tanizaki (Knopf; $3).
The Return of the King, by J. R. R. Tolkein (Houghton Mifflin; $5).
The Foreseeable Future, by Sir George Thomson (Cambridge; $2.50).
Adventures in the Skin Trade and other stories, by Dylan Thomas (New Directions; $3.50).
A Southern Reader, by Willard Thorp (Knopf; $7.50).
Year of Decisions, by Harry S. Truman (Doubleday; $5).
Band of Angels, by Robert Penn Warren (Random House; $3.95).
Officers and Gentlemen, by Evelyn Waugh (Little, Brown; $3.75).
Heritage, by Anthony West (Random House; $3.75).
The Dead Sea Scrolls, by Edmund Wilson (Oxford; $3.25).
Self Condemned, by Percy Wyndham Lewis (Regnery; $4).
The Letters of W. B. Yeats (Macmillan; $9.50).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TELEVISION

NOT LONG AGO on this page I mentioned the highly elaborate NBC television show called *Wide, Wide World,* which appears periodically on Sunday afternoons. Here we have a truly ambitious production: cameras scattered all over the continent (and on islands adjacent to it) bring into our living rooms the sights and sounds of our times. In a sense, I suppose, that's exactly what television was born to do. Yet *Wide, Wide World,* to me at least, is an awful bore.

It's a bore for many reasons. First of all, it beats its own drum too violently. Its very title is pure brag, since it can cover, at most, only a very small portion of the world. It begins, each time, with a statistical report on its technological magnitude — dozens of cameras, hundreds of workers, enough telephone wire to go twice around the world. And then there is its incessant emphasis on being "live" and on being *first.*

This business of television being "live" has its points and certainly impresses a great many people. *Time,* in commenting on this show, spoke with seeming awe of "the immediacy of things happening this very minute." I agree that immediacy can be important, but whether it is or not depends, I think, on whether or not the "things" have any value. *Wide, Wide World's* recent telecast of water skiers cavorting on Indian Creek, as seen from the roof of the Hotel Fontainebleau at Miami Beach, seemed to me to be a colossal waste of telephone wire. I have watched these performers, or their blood kin, dozens of times — in newsreels and travelogues. They form a tiresome troupe, I think, but the films are sometimes well photographed and well edited. On *Wide, Wide World* there can, of course, be no editing, and the photography is miserable.

As I've said, being *first* as well as "live" is an obsession with *Wide, Wide World.* But here, too, the importance of the effort depends upon the value of the result. Some weeks ago the program presented the *first* "live" television presentation of a bit of the stage show at the Radio City Music Hall. Although I am no fan of the Rockettes, I must say that the televised version of their routine was grossly unfair. With bad lighting and no color, the total impression was one of tiny, pale-grey figures kicking wearily in an enormous barn.

On a more recent show a great to-do was made of the fact that, for the first time in history, a direct telecast from Havana was to be attempted. Well, the attempt succeeded. A television camera on a rooftop swung around over the harbor and the city, picking out distant Moro Castle and government buildings and expensive hotels; and finally another camera (or maybe the same one) focussed vaguely on some oddly dressed dancers in the square in front of a cathedral. Since the theme of this show was Youth, I assumed that the dancers were youngsters, but the picture was no muddy and the camera remained at such a respectful, not to say timid, distance from the performers that I'm still not sure. Again, any decent travel film would have done a far better job.

This brings me to the subject of technical achievement, which is, after all, what *Wide, Wide World* brags about most. Naturally, I can judge television camera work only by the results which emerge from my picture tube, but on the basis of that criterion I would certainly question the good sense of the technicians who handle the show. Simple logic, it seems to me, should tell them that an enormous subject like the Grand Canyon or the Continental Divide cannot be shown effectively in flat black and white (or, more literally, light grey and dark grey) on a twenty-one or twenty-seven inch screen. The restricted size of the image demands a degree of intimacy, yet there is a consistent avoidance of the close-up. If faces are shown at all, they are faces in a crowd. Thanks to the efforts of the know-how boys, I spent what seemed like hours one Sunday afternoon staring at the hot, tired, unhappy faces of hundreds of Texans at a state fair, while the commentator kept telling me about the fun people have at this traditional form of American recreation. And I spent another frightful session in a Nevada gambling joint, watching a mob of slot-machine players wrinkle their sweaty brows over another form of Sunday afternoon fun. In either case, a well edited movie film might have been highly effective, but here were simply raw slices of life, and I must say I found them depressing.

The *Wide, Wide World* I watched most recently was called "A Sunday with Youth," and it was no improvement on the earlier shows. Again, there were giant leaps all over the map—to a christening in Vermont, a playground in California (utterly rained out), an ice-skating rink in Ontario, a highschool football rally in Ohio, the mystifying entertainment in Havana I mentioned earlier, and so on. One brief sequence seemed to me worthwhile. It took place at the Intermountain School for Navajos in Utah; and for a few minutes, as the cameras watched the young Indians walk through the dormitory corridors and an earnest administrator told of the purposes and problems of the school, I felt that television was doing its job. There was also merit in another sequence (immediately following the water-skiers), which showed young fliers waiting in the ready room and then racing for their jets at the "scramble" signal. But this job has been done before on television and done considerably better.

At the finish, Dave Garroway admitted that the scenes we had witnessed were only the "special things" taking place on a Sunday afternoon and that the "quiet things" were happening, too. Then, very quickly, the cameras showed an old man playing with two small children, and a little boy raking leaves for a bonfire, and a young couple meeting on a dark street and walking away hand-in-hand. It seemed to me that in those last ninety seconds I had seen a much truer picture of youth on Sunday than in all the time that had gone before. But, of course, none of these last scenes was a first.

DAVID R. EBBITT

"A Brilliant Comedy"—Atkinson, Times
"THE FIRST PLAY OF THE SEASON YOU WILL WANT TO GO BACK TO SEE AGAIN." —Hewes, Saturday Review
"REAL WIT."—Gibbs, The New Yorker
GLADYS COOPER SIOBHAN McKENNA
THE CHALK GARDEN
A New Play by ENID BAGNOLD
with
PERCY WARAM FRITZ WEAVER MARIAN SELDES
and
BETSY von FURSTENBERG
BARRYMORE THEA., 47 St. W. of B'way
Eves. 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:40

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

► Mr. Stevenson's Campaign

SIRS:

In March of this year you published a letter I wrote suggesting that your readers begin saving for Adlai Stevenson's 1956 campaign. I suggested a Christmas Club account as my method of saving.

There were some enthusiastic replies from readers who had begun their own plans for 1956 and they were indicative of the type of devoted followers that Adlai Stevenson inspires.

At that time we were not even certain that Mr. Stevenson was going to seek the nomination and perhaps that deterred others from writing.

Being able to contribute financially in the election campaigns gives one a sense of participation in a very important phase of American life. For the housewife, college students or white collar worker who couldn't afford a large sum out of one week's earnings the systematic savings of a specific amount each week for one year is the easiest way to contribute.

Perhaps your readers have further suggestions which might be useful and even more original.

EDITH GIFFORD

Brooklyn, New York

• • •

SIRS:

. . . It is encouraging that Stevenson's friends are aware that his admirable qualities are known well enough that continual back-slapping is no longer required. Constructive criticism is necessary to a vigorous campaign and the opposition can't be counted on to provide it.

CHARLES WOODWORTH

Madison, N. J.

► Going Places and Doing Things

SIRS:

May I say that I concur 100 percent with David Ebbitt's opinion (*NR,* Nov. 7) that NBC's ambitious week-end program, *Monitor* is a disaster. If I am not mistaken, the program is another one of those cosmic revolutionary brain storms of Pat Weaver, aimed at breaking away from the rigid time mold of fifteen minute and half-hour programs. Instead they run 40 straight hours on a loose time schedule. Ironically, there is no program more *conscious* of time. We are continuously being reminded that "this is the thirteenth hour of Monitor with 27 more hours to go." At one time they even reminded us that this is "the fifty-fifth year of the twentieth century."

Another exasperating aspect of *Monitor* is its sketchiness. In an obvious attempt to bring the "wide, wide world" into our homes, they are actually bringing practically nothing. There are some interviews, to be sure, but most of them are over before you are able to tell what's going on. One interview with Michael Redgrave, the leading actor in *Tiger at the Gates,* lasted exactly three minutes and covered such inane questions as the difference between American and British reaction, the relative price of seats in the two countries, and drinking tea between acts. As Ebbitt pointed out, there is something compulsive about the program; this is indicated by the endless repetition of the refrain, "this is *Monitor*—going places and doing things." What they fail to realize is that they are going to too many places and attempting to do too many things, most of which are not too significant to begin with.

BURLING LOWREY

Lawrence, Kansas

► Freedom and Responsibility

SIRS:

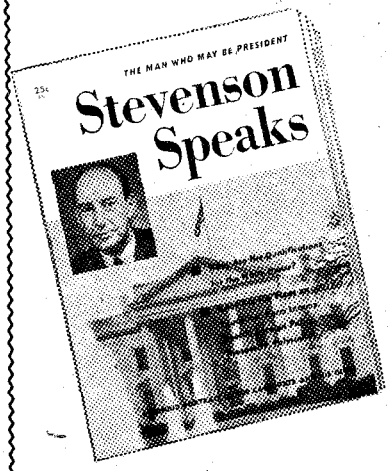
It was with great interest that I read Henry Magid's review of the new in your November 7 issue.

Never before have I seen a purportedly liberal writer so openly disavow knowledge as a means to obtaining freedom. Instead, the "Good of the Society" is established as the ultimate criterion of public knowledge.

I am forced to wonder as to where and how decisions regarding the beneficence of individual truths are to be reached. Is some particular individual, or group of individuals, to be empowered to act for the society as a whole? In that case, truth acquires the nature of revelation. Are we then to build on the peculiar and essentially incommunicable insight of one, be he a Hitler or Marx, or even a Buddha or Christ?

MATTHEW PRASTEIN

Chicago, Ill.



Special Rates for Quantity Orders

Order this new, illustrated full-length study of Adlai Stevenson for yourself and your friends. Ideal, too, for volunteer groups or others interested in becoming active in the 1956 Presidential campaign.

EACH 25c	100 COPIES $12
10 COPIES $2	500 COPIES $50
50 COPIES $7	1,000 COPIES $90

(PLUS POSTAGE)

☆

Send order and payment to

NEW REPUBLIC

1826 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion)	12c
Per word 6 times in one contract year	11c
Per word 13 times in one contract year	10c
Per word 26 times in one contract year	9c
Per word 52 times in one contarct year	8c

NEW REPUBLIC
1826 Jefferson Pl. N.W., Wash. 6, D. C.

LOUVRE, NATIONAL GALLERY, METROPOLITAN, DETROIT INSTITUTE, WORLD MASTERPIECES & GREAT ART NUDES, 2x2 Gorgeous Color Slides 25¢ each. Send $1 for 4 samples & catalogs. ARTCO Slides, Box 46123-NR, Hollywood 46, Calif.

OPINION SURVEY help wanted. Your decisions are urgent. Dahl -NR, 601 Iona, St. Paul 13, Minn.

LITTLE GIRLS LOVE our exclusive Japanese Lantern Miniatures. 3½" round. Assorted colors. Make inter-cultural Christmas tree magic, order four—$1; ten—$2, ppd. (U.S.A.) PACIFIC NEW ENGLAND COMPANY, Box 1152, Studio City, California.

BRITISH BOOKS—ALL SUBJECTS. Catalogue free. Wants solicited. Transbooks, Box 22-NR, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 N ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You give a

Merry Christmas

when you give

The New Republic

for a year (52 weeks)

. . . and a most

Stimulating New Year

of good reading . . .

. . . with this gift bonus

"Stevenson Speaks"

28-page illustrated study of the candidate and the man

MAIL TO THE NEW REPUBLIC, 1826 JEFFERSON PLACE, N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Please send The NEW REPUBLIC for 1 year as my gift (1st gift $7)

TO: (Name) .....

(Address) .....

(City, State) .....

Send "STEVENSON SPEAKS" to

Please send The NEW REPUBLIC for 1 year as my gift (2nd gift $5)

TO: (Name) .....

(Address) .....

(City, State) .....

Send "STEVENSON SPEAKS" to

Please send The NEW REPUBLIC for 1 year as my gift (3rd gift $5)

TO: (Name) .....

(Address) .....

(City, State) .....

Send "STEVENSON SPEAKS" to

NAME OF DONOR

(Name) .....

(Address) .....

(City, State) .....

Note: You may send "Stevenson Speaks" with your gift subscription, or to any other address.

The Charl[redacted] Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED